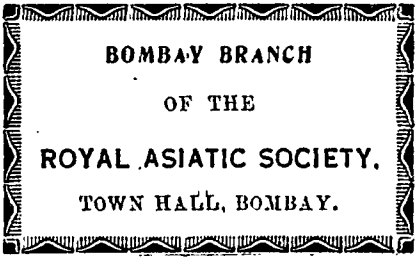
00140794



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016

ATLANTIC OCEAN
St. HELENA
ISLAND
1836.

1773

Hudson Lowe

Lt General

London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, June 1853

HISTORY

OF

THE CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA;

FROM THE LETTERS AND JOURNALS

OF THE LATE

LIEUT.-GEN. SIR HUDSON LOWE,

AND

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS NOT BEFORE MADE PUBLIC.

By WILLIAM FORSYTH, M.A.,

AUTHOR OF 'HORTENSIUS' AND 'HISTORY OF TRIAL BY JURY.'
LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

140794

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

With Portrait and Map.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1853.

The Author reserves to himself the right of authorising a Translation of this Work.

944.05
Low/His
140794

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

PREFACE.

When Mr. Murray first proposed to place in my hands the papers of the late Sir Hudson Lowe in order that I might undertake the present work, after some consideration I declined the task, chiefly on grounds of a professional nature. For the Law is a jealous mistress, and recognises no half-hearted or divided allegiance. But the proposal was again pressed upon me in so flattering a manner, that I was induced to reconsider my decision. I reflected that the subject was one for the due treatment of which my profession in some degree qualified me, as the value of the work must mainly depend upon the mode in which evidence is handled, and conflicting state ments are discussed. The habit which a Lawyer acquires of sifting evidence, is one which he may usefully apply in the solution of historical questions, as well as in forensic disputes. But he must be on his guard, and remember that he betrays the office of an Historian if he assumes the tone of an Advocate. When I commenced the present volumes, I made as it were a covenant with myself, that I would, in the

language of our courts, "well and truly try the question at issue between the parties, and a true verdict give according to the evidence." I was not asked to make out a case for Sir Hudson Lowe, nor, had I been asked to do so, would I have consented. I regarded the duty of examining the papers left by him as a solemn trust for the due and truthful discharge of which I was responsible to the public, and a still more searching tribunal, my own conscience. *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, sed magis amica Veritas.*

The present narrative has been written amidst the claims of a laborious profession, during the periods which otherwise would have been given to relaxation. I do not say this to deprecate criticism, for it is undoubtedly true that no author ought voluntarily to undertake what he does not think he can fairly execute. I merely state the fact.

As to the style and manner in which I have performed the task it is not for me to judge. That question will be decided by the public for themselves, and every writer must submit himself to their impartial opinion, from which there is no appeal. But I do claim for myself the right to be believed when I assert that the present volumes have been written with the most minute and scrupulous regard to truth. I had to deal with an enormous mass of papers, and selection and curtailment were inevitable; but I have not kept back one single fact or expression which, whether it told for the one side or the other, could by possibility throw light upon the great question at issue. And for this reason I have sometimes intro-

duced matter which might well have been omitted, if my sole object had been to interest or amuse the reader, and not to state the *whole* case. The reader will not fail to observe inaccuracies of expression and mistakes of grammar in the letters and documents quoted, but I did not think myself at liberty to make any alteration for the purpose of correction, except now and then with respect to some mere clerical error. I have used the orthography "Bonaparte," although there is no doubt that the name was originally and properly written "Buonaparté;" but Napoleon dropped the *u*, and modern usage has sanctioned the change.[1] Lord Bathurst, in his correspondence with Sir Hudson Lowe, usually wrote "Buonaparte," but sometimes "Bonaparté" or "Bonaparte."

If the language in which I have frequently spoken of O'Meara seems severe, let the reader, before it is condemned, consider whether it has not been deserved. I am not one of those who think that such conduct as he has been guilty of in slandering others may be sufficiently censured in the dulcet tones of gentle animadversion. He merits a sterner and more fearless judgment. Such writers are the pests of literature. They corrupt the stream of history by poisoning its fountains, and the effect of his work has been to mislead all succeeding authors, and perpetuate a tale of falsehood.

As regards Napoleon, if I know anything of myself, my sympathies were in his favour. I cannot

[1] See on this subject O'Meara's 'Voice from St. Helena,' vol. ii. p. 93, and 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xxviii. p. 254.

now sufficiently express my admiration of his genius; but neither can I blind myself to the fact that he did not exhibit in misfortune that magnanimity without which there is no real greatness, and that he concentrated the energies of his mighty intellect on the ignoble task of insulting the Governor of St. Helena and manufacturing a case of hardship and oppression for himself. I have endeavoured to hold the balance even, and it is not the weight of prejudice, but of facts, which has made one of the scales preponderate.

Let me now say a few words respecting the materials I have used. And here I cannot do better than quote the late Sir Hudson Lowe's own account of the papers in his possession, which he drew up when he contemplated a publication of them in his lifetime; a design, however, which, unfortunately for his reputation, he failed to execute. He says,—"There are perhaps few, if any, public administrations of any kind, of which the records are so full and complete as those of my Government at St. Helena. There is not only a detailed correspondence addressed to the proper department of His Majesty's Government, reporting the occurrences of almost every day during the five years that Napoleon Bonaparte remained under my custody, but the greater part of the conversations held with Bonaparte himself, or with his followers, was immediately noted down with an ability and exactness which reflect the highest credit on my Military Secretary [Major Gorrequer]. This gentleman was not only a perfect master of the French language, but possessed a memory equally remarkable for its

accuracy and tenacity, and was therefore eminently qualified to report the conversations at which he was himself present, and to detect any error to which a misapprehension of the meaning of foreigners might lead other persons who repeated what passed at interviews with Bonaparte and his followers."

I have had access to a vast number of original despatches of Earl Bathurst, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies while Napoleon was at St. Helena, and to the originals or copies of every important document connected with the subject. Thirty folio volumes are filled with copies of correspondence and other writings, carefully made under the direction of Sir Hudson Lowe, who seems to have treasured a memorial of almost every incident, however trivial, connected with that important period of his life. In addition to these, there are several large boxes which contain manuscripts, chiefly copies, relating to the same events, all of which have been diligently examined for the purpose of the present work. Two sets of copies of O'Meara's letters to Mr. Finlaison, so frequently quoted in the narrative, were placed in my hands; but I wish distinctly to state that I have not seen the originals. One of these sets was made officially at the time when the letters were communicated through the Admiralty to the Cabinet, as will be explained in the course of the narrative, and their correctness cannot for a moment be doubted.

It only remains that I should make an acknowledgment for the assistance I have received. The Lowe papers were originally placed, some years ago, in the

hands of the late Sir Harris Nicolas, with a view to publication under his auspices as editor. He underwent the heavy labour of arranging them, and before his death had proceeded so far as to have a voluminous mass of documents set up in type, down to the date of September, 1817. His plan, however, was to print almost every letter and other manuscript at full length in chronological order, connecting them with a slender thread of explanatory remark. The consequence would have been that if his plan had been carried out the work must have consisted of eight or nine closely printed octavo volumes, the price of which would have rendered them inaccessible to the public generally. Moreover, the interest of the subject was suffocated under a mass of minute detail, which would have bewildered the attention and exhausted the patience of the reader. I, therefore, after full consideration, resolved to re-write the work, and adopt a wholly different plan. I thought that the only mode of doing justice to the importance of the subject was to make use of the letters and documents as materials for the narrative, and treat them as the hewn stones out of which the fabric of a history was to be constructed, instead of piling them in a heap with little regard to architectural symmetry and effect. But I most willingly and gladly admit my obligations to Sir Harris Nicolas in having gone through the drudgery of a thorough examination of the papers, the mere sight of which was enough to appal a writer and deter him from undertaking the task of editing them. His labours have greatly

assisted and lightened mine, nor do I know that I should have had the courage to commence the work if he had not paved the way by rendering the materials more manageable under my hands. Moreover, I am much indebted to him for the careful collation he had made of references and authorities, in which I have generally found him scrupulously correct. I thought that the public would rather have a history than a mere collection of documents, but that in a work like this, which must challenge hostile criticism on the part of those who are determined to believe the calumnies which have so long had currency respecting the captivity of Napoleon, they would require to see *in extenso* all the documents of importance which support the views put forward in the narrative. These, therefore, are published at the end of each of the present volumes, and may be considered as the *Pièces Justificatives* of the history.

I must also thank Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, Professor of Military Surveying at the East India College at Addiscombe, for his ready and obliging willingness to give me every information in his power respecting events in which he was an actor, and respecting persons of whom he is now one of the very few survivors. In conclusion I can only express my earnest hope that this work may be the means of rectifying some erroneous views, and enabling the public to form a just opinion respecting one of the most interesting episodes of history. It will be to me a source of sincere and lasting satisfaction if I have, with the most rigid adherence to truth, and by the

mere force of facts, succeeded in vindicating the memory of those who have been long calumniated, and proving that neither the British Government nor Sir Hudson Lowe was in fault as regards the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena.

Temple, May, 1853.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Surrender of Napoleon Bonaparte to the British Government, and his arrival at St. Helena 1

CHAPTER II.

St. Helena — The Briars — Longwood — Correspondence of Sir George Cockburn with Counts Montholon and Bertrand — O'Meara 26

CHAPTER III.

Memoir of Sir Hudson Lowe up to the period of his becoming Governor of St. Helena 85

CHAPTER IV.

First interview of Sir Hudson Lowe with Bonaparte — Difficulty in getting the French officers to sign the declaration — Other interviews with Bonaparte — Letters of O'Meara to Sir Thomas Reade and others 138

CHAPTER V.

Arrival of Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm and the foreign Commissioners — Proclamation by the Governor — Madame Bertrand's note to the Marquis de Montchenu — Question of Napoleon's residence and expenses of his establishment — Interview between him and the Governor — Sir Hudson Lowe's Despatches to England 189

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE

O'Meara's letters to Sir Thomas Reade — Complaints respecting provisions — Question of reduction of expenses at Longwood — Sir Hudson Lowe's last interview with Napoleon — Letter of remonstrance from Count Montholon, and comments by the Governor — Correspondence on the subject of passes to Longwood signed by Count Bertrand 234

CHAPTER VII.

Reduction of expenses at Longwood — Plate broken up for sale — Real object of this — Letters of O'Meara — Despatches from Lord Bathurst — O'Meara's correspondence with Mr. Finlaison at the Admiralty — Information given of projects for Napoleon's escape — Refusal of Napoleon to see Sir Hudson Lowe — Interviews of Sir Thomas Reade with Bonaparte and Count Bertrand . 279

CHAPTER VIII.

Objections of the French to signing the declaration — Alterations made by Sir Hudson Lowe in the regulations — Proposal of Bonaparte to assume another name — Interview between the Governor and Count Bertrand on the subject — Napoleon on the New Testament — His criticism on the battle of Waterloo — Letter from O'Meara to Mr. Finlaison, and his description of the style of living at Longwood — More plate broken up, and Montholon's account of the stratagem — Calumny of O'Meara . . 322

CHAPTER IX.

Discovery of clandestine correspondence, and arrest of Las Cases . 367

LETTERS and DOCUMENTS, in the nature of PROOFS and ILLUSTRATIONS 395

HISTORY

OF THE

CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER I.

SURRENDER OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AND HIS ARRIVAL AT ST. HELENA.

At a time when one of the family of Bonaparte is again seated on the throne of France, and the Empire has been once more proclaimed in that country of political revolutions, fresh interest is awakened in the history of him who was the founder of the dynasty, and to the magic of whose name the present ruler of the French owes his elevation to the Imperial dignity. The period therefore is not inopportune for giving to the world a true narrative of the last six years of the life of Napoleon, which he spent, as the prisoner of England and the Allied Powers, on an island rock in the midst of the Atlantic, when the fabric of his power had been shattered at Waterloo, and he was compelled to seek refuge on board a British man of war, and throw himself into the hands of those whom he described as "the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of his enemies."

I say emphatically a *true* narrative; for hitherto the story of Napoleon's captivity has been told by writers whose object was not to make known the truth, but to exalt the character of their hero and depreciate

that of Sir Hudson Lowe. O'Meara, Las Cases, Montholon, and Antommarchi, who were the immediate attendants of the exile at Longwood, who were eye-witnesses of the treatment he received, and on whose statements, therefore, the opinion of the public mainly rests, had each a separate cause of quarrel with the late Governor of St. Helena. O'Meara attributed to him his removal from the post of physician to Napoleon, and dimissal from the navy by the English Government for conduct at utter variance with his duty. This rankled in his heart, and his book bears in every page the mark of implacable hatred against those who were the authors of his disgrace. But of him we shall speak more at length hereafter, and show, by evidence that cannot be disputed, that his 'Voice from St. Helena' is a voice wholly unworthy of belief. Las Cases also was sent away from the island by the Governor for infringing the rules laid down to ensure the safe custody of Napoleon: and in his 'Journal' he has perverted almost every fact which he records, for the purpose of vilifying the one, and exalting by contrast the character of the other. He did not hesitate to avow that the Emperor was the god of his idolatry, and at that shrine he thought it little to sacrifice the reputation of the officer to whose keeping his master was committed, with whom he himself came in collision, and who, in the execution of his duty, could not but give offence to minds so irritated and susceptible as those of the inmates of Longwood. We shall see the estimate which Napoleon and O'Meara themselves formed of the veracity of Montholon; and it is too much to assume that when the supposed interests of the fallen Emperor were at stake he would be more scrupulous in his subsequent writings than in his language at the time when the events which he pro-

fesses to record occurred. As to Antommarchi, his *amour-propre* had been offended by his being subjected to the same regulations as the French residents at Longwood, and also by the earnestness with which Sir Hudson Lowe pressed upon the attendants of Napoleon the necessity of having recourse to additional medical advice when his illness became serious.

The period, however, has arrived when a just and impartial verdict may be given. We have now the means of knowing the facts as they really happened, and we are too far removed from the era to which they relate to be influenced by the feelings which agitated the minds of the men of that generation. The tomb has closed over almost all the great actors in the struggle. The passions arising from the long conflict in which England was engaged have died away. Party has no longer any object to serve in making the treatment of Napoleon an engine of political attack, and we may hope that in this country, at all events, the public will be disposed to take a calm and unprejudiced view of events, the account of which has been hitherto given with little regard to the stern fidelity which is the first duty of the historian.

There are indeed some persons to whom a refutation of charges once believed is addressed in vain. Having taken the pains to form an opinion, they cling to it as a first principle, which admits of neither question nor dispute. Their minds are no longer open to conviction, for prejudice has closed every avenue through which truth can enter. With such it is in vain to argue. No amount of evidence is sufficient to alter the foregone conclusion at which they have perhaps not unwillingly arrived.[1] They have made up their minds that

[1] "Ambitionem scriptoris facile adverseris; obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur."—*Tacitus.*

Sir Hudson Lowe was a tyrant and Napoleon his victim, and they refuse to listen when they are told that it can be proved to demonstration that the assertion is untrue. These are the reasoners to whom the great satirist of antiquity alludes when he makes one of his characters exclaim, "Although you persuade me, I will not be persuaded." In daily life we all know how difficult it is to free ourselves from suspicion of a man who has once been assailed by calumny, however groundless the calumny may be. The correction of error requires a degree of labour which few persons care to take. It is as true now as it was when the Greek historian wrote, that the generality of men will not give themselves trouble in search of truth, but content themselves with what happens first to come to hand.[1]

And what has been the nature of the proofs upon which the question of the conduct of the British Government and of Sir Hudson Lowe towards Napoleon has been allowed to rest?

The Chinese have a proverb that "No lies are so wicked as those which have a foundation in truth." And the reason of this is obvious. A direct and naked falsehood can seldom be supported. It has no element of vitality, and after answering a temporary purpose dies from mere inanition. It is capable of a short and positive contradiction, and convincing proof can generally be given promptly and without difficulty to show that it *is* a falsehood. But the case is very different with ingenious distortions of fact. A caricature must preserve some of the features of the portrait, or it would fail in its purpose. It would cease to be a caricature, for no one would recognise the resemblance. And so

[1] "δυτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοις πολλοις ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτοιμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται."—*Thucydides.*

in descriptions of events and details of conversations. By dexterous additions and omissions, by transpositions of dates, by alterations, "here a little and there a little," an effect may be produced quite opposite to the truth, and yet it may require far more care and thought and attention than the great mass of readers are willing or able to bestow, to unravel the web, and separate the threads of falsehood which have been skilfully shot through the tissue of the narrative. I shall show, indeed, that the writers to whom I have alluded did not shrink from resorting at times to wilful untruth, but their chief weapon has been misrepresentation. In a *suppressed* passage of Count Las Cases' Journal, under the date of November 30, 1815, he says,[1] "We had nothing left us but moral weapons; that to make the most effective use of these, it was necessary to reduce to *a system* our demeanour, our words, our sentiments, *even our privations;* that a large population in Europe would take a lively interest in our behalf; that the Opposition in England would not fail to attack the Ministry on the violence of their conduct towards us."[2] The policy at Longwood was a policy of deception and intrigue. It was a desperate attempt by Napoleon to create sufficient sympathy in Europe to render probable the chance of his removal from his ocean prison, and to attain this end no calumny was deemed too gross—no misrepre-

[1] The circumstances under which the *original* manuscript of Las Cases' Journal came into the possession of Sir Hudson Lowe, who was thus enabled to have an exact copy taken, will be detailed hereafter.

[2] "Qu'il ne nous restait que des armes morales; que pour en faire l'usage le plus avantageux, il fallait reduire *en systême* notre attitude, nos paroles, nos sentimens, *nos privations mêmes;* qu'une nombreuse population en Europe prendrait une tendre intérêt en nous; que l'opposition en Angleterre ne manquerait pas de combattre le ministère dans la violence qu'ils ont exercé contre nous."

sentation was thought too mean. "My good friend," said General Montholon one day to Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Jackson, at St. Helena, who told him that Sir Hudson Lowe had refrained from appointing him orderly officer at Longwood out of delicacy to Napoleon because he was then only a lieutenant—"My good friend, you have had a fortunate escape; for had you come hither as an orderly officer *we would most assuredly have ruined your reputation. It is a part of our system, et que voulez vous dire?*" Does not this sentence speak volumes?

From a French writer we might naturally expect on this subject nothing but panegyric upon Napoleon and invective against Sir Hudson Lowe.[1] One author of that nation, however, has honourably distinguished himself by the impartial tone in which he has criticised the conduct of the Governor and his captive. Lamartine has done homage to truth, and, so far as he had the means of forming a just judgment, has taken pains to arrive at it. He has fully penetrated the motives of Napoleon in keeping up his quarrel with Sir Hudson Lowe, and, if he has formed a wrong estimate in some respects of the character of the latter and misconstrued his actions, we must remember that he was obliged to winnow out the facts of the case from the heap of calumny and falsehood with which the enemies of that officer have loaded his memory, and that he had not access to the materials which would have enabled him to correct in many points his opinion. In the following passage he thus speaks of the Governor of

[1] It is almost a point of honour with the French to believe all that is evil of Sir Hudson Lowe. He is the *bête noire* of their imagination. Thus, Victor Hugo, in his 'Napoléon le Petit,' a philippic in which he exhausts invective against the author of the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of

St. Helena and Napoleon:[1]—"He" (that is the latter) "pursued slowly and obstinately the suicide of his captivity. The arrival at St. Helena of a new Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, riveted more closely his voluntary chains. That Governor, whom the myrmidons of Napoleon, and Napoleon himself, attacked with groundless and passionate charges, such as the hallucinations of captivity alone could inspire,—treated by them as a petty constable and an assassin,—had neither criminal intent against his captive in his thoughts, nor insult towards the unfortunate in his heart. But, crushed under the load of responsibility which weighed on him lest he might suffer to escape the disturber whom Europe had given him to guard, narrow in his ideas, jealous in his regulations, nervously tenacious of forms, deficient in tact, and odious to his captives from the very nature of his functions, he wearied Napoleon with restrictions, superintendence, orders, visits, and even marks of respect. He soon imparted to the duties of the Governor of the island and guardian of an European hostage the appearance and rudeness of a gaoler. Nevertheless, although he may be reproached with impropriety, he cannot be charged with ill-usage. He was the occasion rather than the cause of the unhappy end of Napoleon. In reading with attention the correspondence and notes exchanged on every pretext between the attendants on Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe, one is confounded at the insults, the provocations, and the invectives with which the captive and his friends outraged the Governor at every turn. Na-

December, the present Emperor of France, thinks he attains the climax of sarcasm when he exclaims "pire que Hudson Lowe! Hudson Lowe n'était qu'un geolier, Hudson Lowe n'était qu'un bourreau: l'homme qui assassine véritablement Napoléon,-c'est Louis Bonaparte; Hudson Lowe n'avait tué que sa vie, Louis Bonaparte tue sa gloire."

[1] Histoire de la Restauration, tom. vi. p. 416.

poleon at that time sought to excite by cries of pain the pity of the English Parliament, and to furnish a grievance to the speakers of the Opposition against the Ministry, in order to obtain a removal nearer to Europe. The desire of provoking insults by insult, and of afterwards exhibiting these insults as crimes to the indignation of the Continent, and of making Sir Hudson Lowe the Pilate of this Napoleonic Calvary, is plainly evident in all those letters."

No doubt the portrait of the Governor is here harshly drawn, and some of the particulars are incorrect. For instance, when Lamartine speaks of Sir Hudson Lowe wearying Napoleon with visits, he seems not to be aware, or to have forgotten, that during the whole of the six years of the captivity the Governor had only five interviews with his prisoner; and that Napoleon rudely and discourteously refused, after insulting him to his face with the grossest language of abuse, to see or have any intercourse with him again. Nor was there anything in his conduct or demeanour, as the reader will see, which can justify the application to him of the odious epithet of gaoler. But this question will appear in its true light as our narrative proceeds, and we need not anticipate here the judgment which will be formed on the facts of the captivity.

There never was a question of greater moment and difficulty presented to the consideration of a Ministry than that which arose in July, 1815, when the British Government received the astounding intelligence that Napoleon Bonaparte had surrendered himself to England, and was then on board His Majesty's ship of war, the Bellerophon, in Torbay. How was he to be treated? in what character ought he to be received? was he the prisoner or the guest of England? was he to be

regarded as an outlaw, and dealt with as *hostis humani generis?*

Each of these views had its advocates. In truth it was a case without a precedent. The great lawyers of the day were at fault. It was in vain to search the works of writers on the Law of Nations, for experience had not supplied, nor imagination suggested, an instance in point. Sir William Grant, Sir William Scott, Lord Ellenborough the Lord Chief Justice, and Lord Eldon the Lord Chancellor of England, were consulted and gave conflicting opinions.[1] That of the Lord Chancellor was, "that the case was not provided for by anything to be found in Grotius or Vattel, but that the law of self-preservation would justify the keeping of Napoleon under restraint in some distant region, where he should be treated with all indulgence compatible with a due regard for the peace of mankind."

Napoleon himself suggested the nearest parallel which history affords. "I come," he said, in his famous letter to the Prince Regent,[2] "like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of their laws." And at first sight it might appear that the conduct of Persia was more magnanimous than that of Eng-

[1] Lord Holland brought forward, on the 8th of April, 1816, a motion in the House of Lords for referring to the judges the question of the *status* of Napoleon Bonaparte, and our right to detain him as a prisoner. This was properly and successfully resisted by the Lord Chancellor (33 Parl. Deb., 1019). The question was clearly one of state policy, and not of municipal law; but Lord Eldon relied on a more conclusive reason, which was that, whatever the opinions of the judges might be, an Act of Parliament was necessary to meet the exigency of the case.

[2] "Royal Highness,—Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe, I have closed my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."

land. For the eastern monarch assigned three royal cities, Lampsacus, Myus, and Magnesia, for the support of his fallen enemy, and lavished gifts upon him in profusion, while *we* banished our former foe to a distant island in the Atlantic, and treated him there as a prisoner of war. But a moment's consideration will show that the cases were not similar. Themistocles did not surrender himself *flagrante bello*. Moreover, he claimed protection on the ground that his exile was owing to his zeal for the interests of Persia, and he offered to do further injury to Greece as the price of his asylum. It was not therefore generosity, but policy, which influenced the Persian king. He rewarded the past treachery of a bad citizen, and purchased the future service of a renegade. Napoleon could advance no plea of having betrayed his country for the sake of England, nor would England have stooped to bargain for his help against France had she needed it, and he had been base enough to offer it.

The whole question of right or wrong in the conduct of the British Government towards Napoleon turns upon the view taken of this matter. It is essential to determine what was his real position when he first set foot on board the Bellerophon. Was he a guest, uninvited indeed, but still a guest, and, as such, entitled by misfortune to claim the sacred rights of hospitality? or was he an enemy brought at last to bay, who had been hemmed round by foes until he was compelled to choose one amongst them to whom he would surrender himself a prisoner of war?

Napoleon always assumed that he ought to have been received and treated in the former character When he heard that he was to be conveyed to St. Helena he drew up on board the Bellerophon a protest, in which he said, "I hereby solemnly protest, in

the face of Heaven and mankind, against the violence that is done me, and the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I voluntarily came on board the Bellerophon. I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England." And throughout his captivity he consistently maintained the same view. When he was at St. Helena he said that, if the Governor were to give him the whole of the island on condition that he would pledge his word not to attempt an escape, he would not accept it, because it would be equivalent to the acknowledging himself a prisoner.[1] But a claim is not a title. The facts of the case cannot be altered because Bonaparte chose to put upon them an interpretation favourable to himself. Now what are those facts? Vanquished at Waterloo by the combined armies of the Allied Powers, he fled through Paris and reached Rochefort, from which port, owing to the presence of British cruizers, he found escape by sea impossible. He might indeed have attempted to rekindle the war in the heart of France, and hazarded the chance of another battle with the broken fragments of his army, which, under the command of Grouchy, had retired behind the Loire, but this he saw was a hopeless scheme, and the idea was, after due consideration, abandoned. He might have surrendered himself to Austria, or Russia, or any other Power, rather than to England; but still it must have been surrender, for all Europe was arrayed against him. If he had fallen into the hands of the Prussians, it was the intention of Blücher to have him shot over the grave of the Duc d'Enghien in the ditch of Vincennes.[2] In truth, Na-

[1] Voice from St. Helena, i. 371, 372.

[2] This resolution of the stern old Field Marshal is placed beyond a doubt by the recent publication of Baron von Müffling's 'Memoirs,' where we

poleon had merely the choice of the nation to which he must give himself up, and not of the mode in which he was to be disposed of by that nation. Nor is this proposition likely to be disputed amongst ourselves. Even those who most strongly opposed the determination to send Napoleon to St. Helena hardly ventured to contest our *right* to do so. In the protest drawn up by Lord Holland, and signed by himself and the Duke of Sussex, against the bill "for the more effectually detaining in custody Napoleon Bonaparte," he said, that "to consign to distant exile and imprisonment a foreign and captive chief who after the abdication of his authority, relying on British generosity, had surrendered himself to us in preference to his other enemies, is unworthy of the magnanimity of a great country." It may have been unworthy of our "magnanimity"—that is a question to be determined by a just and dispassionate view of the exigencies of the case—but we were assuredly guilty of no violation of any right which Napoleon could claim for himself, nor of any departure from the principles which regulate warfare amongst civilized nations. It must not be forgotten that he had already escaped from Elba, and the result was the battle of Waterloo and the loss of sixty thousand men. And if amongst a neighbouring people, who are the least likely to acquiesce in the justice of our treatment of the illustrious captive, writers are found to advocate a different theory, and to reproach England for guarding him as a

find (page 274) a note addressed to that officer by General von Gneisenau, and dated June 29, 1815, in which he says, "I am directed by the Field Marshal (Blücher) to request your Excellency to communicate to the Duke of Wellington that it had been his intention to execute Bonaparte on the spot where the Duc d'Enghien was shot; that, out of deference, however, to the Duke's wishes, he will abstain from this measure, but that the Duke must take on himself the responsibility of its non-enforcement."

prisoner instead of entertaining him as a guest, let them remember how Abd el Kadr was for many years kept in close confinement amongst themselves, after he, relying, not on French "generosity," but the solemn promise of a French prince who assured him that he would not be dealt with as a captive, surrendered himself into the hands of his enemies.[1] Napoleon indeed pretended that he might urge a similar plea. In his protest on board the Bellerophon he said, "I came at the instigation of the captain himself, who declared he had orders from the Government to receive and convey me to England, together with my suite, if agreeable to me. I came forward with confidence to place myself under the protection of the laws of England." This, however, is distinctly contradicted by Captain Maitland, who in his letter to Mr. Croker, the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated "Basque Roads, July 14th, 1815," after stating that Count Las Cases and General Lallemand had that day come on board the Bellerophon with a proposal for him to receive Napoleon Bonaparte, for the purpose of throwing himself on the generosity of the Prince Regent, and that he had acceded to the request, added as follows:[2]—"That no misunderstanding might arise I have explicitly and clearly explained to the Count Las Cases that I have no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort; but all I can do is to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as His Royal Highness may deem expedient."

So far, therefore, from Captain Maitland instigating

[1] The liberation of Abd el Kadr from his long captivity is the most graceful act of the present Emperor of France. His imprisonment throws a deep stain on the government of Louis Philippe.

[2] Narrative of the Surrender of Bonaparte, by Captain Maitland, p. 69.

the step taken by Napoleon, or holding out any false hopes, he made it known in the most positive manner that he could guarantee nothing but a safe conveyance of the fugitives across the Channel, to be thereafter dealt with as his Government might think fit.

After much deliberation it was resolved by the English Ministry that Bonaparte should be considered a prisoner of war; that the island of St. Helena, which then belonged to the East India Company, should be the place of his detention; that he should be immediately conveyed there in charge of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn; and that Sir Hudson Lowe, who then commanded the troops at Marseilles, should be appointed Governor of the island, and have the custody of Napoleon's person.

At the end of July the ex-Emperor was officially informed that he was to be restrained in his personal liberty and sent to St. Helena, and that he might select from those who had accompanied him to England any three of his officers (except Generals Savary and Lallemand), and his surgeon and twelve servants, to attend him; but that those persons would not be permitted to quit the island without the sanction of the British Government.

As it was more convenient that H.M.S. the Northumberland, of seventy-four guns, should convey Napoleon to St. Helena, than that he should proceed in the Bellerophon, that ship was prepared for his reception; and Sir George Cockburn accordingly hoisted his flag on board of her. The subjoined Instructions, in the form of "Memoranda," for the Admiral's guidance, were transmitted to the Lords of the Admiralty by Earl Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies, enclosed in a letter in which his Lordship said,—

"In committing so important a trust to British officers, the Prince Regent is sensible that it is not necessary to impress upon them his anxious desire that no greater measure of severity, with respect to confinement or restriction, be imposed than what is deemed necessary for the faithful discharge of that duty which the Admiral, as well as the Governor of St. Helena, must ever keep in mind,—the perfect security of General Bonaparte's person. Whatever, consistent with this great object, can be allowed in the shape of indulgence, His Royal Highness is confident will be willingly shown to the General; and he relies on Sir George Cockburn's known zeal and energy of character that he will not allow himself to be betrayed into any improvident relaxation of his duty."

"MEMORANDA.

"War Department, July 30, 1815.

"1. When General Bonaparte shall remove from the Bellerophon into the Northumberland, it will be a fit moment for Admiral Sir George Cockburn to direct an examination of the effects which the General shall have brought with him.

"2. Admiral Sir George Cockburn will allow all articles of furniture, books, and wine, which the General may have brought with him, to be transshipped on board the Northumberland.

"3. Under the head of furniture is to be included his plate, provided it be not to such an amount as to bespeak it to be rather an article of convertible property than of domestic use.

"4. His money, diamonds, and negotiable bills of every description are to be given up. The Admiral will explain to the General that it is by no means the intention of the British Government to confiscate his

property, but simply to take the administration of these effects into their own hands, for the purpose of preventing their being converted by him into an instrument of escape.

"5. The examination must be made in the presence of some person appointed by General Bonaparte; and an inventory of the effects so to be retained must be signed by this person, as well as by the Rear-Admiral, or any one appointed by him to make out the inventory.

"6. The interest, or the principal (according to the amount of the property), will be applicable to his maintenance; and the disposition of it, in that respect, left chiefly to his own choice.

"7. He will for that purpose from time to time communicate his wishes to the Admiral, until the new Governor of St. Helena arrives, and to the Governor afterwards; and, unless the proposition be objectionable, the Admiral or Governor, as the case may be, will give the necessary orders, and the bills will be paid by bills drawn upon His Majesty's Treasury.

"8. In the event of his death, the disposition of his property will be determined by his will, the contents of which he must be assured will be strictly attended to.

"9. As an attempt may be made to represent part of the property as belonging to persons in his suite, it must be understood that the property of those who go out with him is subject to the same regulation.

"10. The disposition of the military allotted to guard him must be left to the Governor, the Governor being instructed to attend to the wishes of the Admiral in the instances hereafter to be mentioned.

"11. The General must be always attended by an officer appointed by the Admiral or Governor, as the case may be.[1] If the General be permitted to move

[1] Count de Las Cases asserts in his Journal (20-23 Dec. 1815) that it

beyond the boundaries where the sentries are placed, the officer should be attended by one orderly at least.

"12. In the event of ships arriving, so long as they continue in sight the General must be confined within the boundary where the sentries shall be placed. He must during that interval be prohibited from all intercourse and communication with the inhabitants. They who accompany him to St. Helena must be subject at this period to the same regulations. They are to reside with him; and it is left to the discretion of the Admiral in the first instance, and to the new Governor afterwards, to establish such regulations with respect to them at other times as may appear expedient.

"13. The Admiral will not take on board any individual belonging to General Bonaparte's suite, for the purpose of conveying him to St. Helena with the General, except with his full consent, after it has been explained to him that he thereby becomes liable to all the regulations to which it may be deemed necessary to subject him for the security of the General's person.

"14. The General must be given to understand that, in the event of his attempting to escape, he will be afterwards subject to close custody; and they who go out with him must also understand that, if they shall be detected in contriving means for his escape, they will be separated from him, and placed in close custody.

"15. All letters addressed to him, or his attendants, must be first delivered to the Admiral, or to the Governor, as the case may be, who will read them

---

was one of the orders issued by the English Ministry, that an English officer should be constantly at Napoleon's table—"mesure barbare qui nous eût privés de la douceur de nous trouver en famille;" and he adds that the order was not carried into effect only because Bonaparte took his meals in his own chamber. This is simply untrue. Such a measure was never either attempted or intended.

before they are delivered to the persons to whom they are addressed. All letters written by the General or his attendants must be subject to the same regulation.

"16. No letter which has not been transmitted to St. Helena by the Secretary of State should be delivered to the General, or to those who accompany him, if it be written by any person not resident in the island; and all their letters addressed to persons not resident in the island must be sent under cover to the Secretary of State.

"17. The General must be given clearly to understand that the Governor and Admiral are strictly instructed to forward to his Majesty's Government any wish or representation which he may think proper to make to the British Government; and in that particular they are not at liberty to exercise any discretion; but the paper on which such application or representation may be written must be left open for their joint inspection, in order that in transmitting it they may be enabled to accompany it with such observations as they may think expedient.

"18. Until the arrival of the new Governor, the Admiral must be considered as entirely responsible for the security of General Bonaparte's person; and his Majesty's Government entertains no doubt of the disposition of the actual Governor to concert with the Admiral for this purpose.

"19. The Admiral is authorized to keep the General on board, or re-embark him, if the security of his person cannot, in the Admiral's opinion, be otherwise obtained.

"20. On the representation of the Admiral upon his arrival at St. Helena, the Governor will take measures immediately to convey, either to England, or to the Cape, or to the East Indies, according to the circumstances of the case, such non-commissioned officers and

privates in the military corps at St. Helena as the Admiral may deem expedient to relieve from their military duty in the island, by reason of being foreigners, or on account of their general character and disposition.

"21. If there are any foreigners in the island whose residence there appears to the Admiral calculated to be instrumental to General Bonaparte's escape, measures must be taken for their removal.

"22. The whole coast of the island, and the vessels and boats frequenting it, must be placed under the control of the Admiral. He will regulate the places which boats may frequent; and on his representation the Governor will station a sufficient guard at those places at which the Admiral may think precaution necessary.

"23. The Admiral will take the most effectual steps to watch the arrival and departure of every ship, so as to prevent any intercourse with the shore, except such as he may approve.

"24. An order for preventing, after due notice, foreign ships, and ships belonging to the private trade, from resorting to St. Helena, will be forthwith given.

"25. If the General should be attacked with any serious indisposition, the Governor and the Admiral will each direct a medical person, in whom they may have confidence, to be in attendance on the General, in addition to his own medical assistance, and direct them severally to report daily on the state of his health.

"26. In the event of his death, the Admiral will give orders for his body being conveyed to England."

On the 4th of August the Bellerophon sailed from Plymouth Sound to meet the Northumberland, and on the 6th she anchored off the Start. Lord Keith and

Sir George Cockburn went on board, and communicated to Bonaparte their instructions, part of which were as follows :—

"The Admiral will allow the baggage, wines, and provisions which the General may have brought with him to be taken on board the Northumberland. Among the baggage his table-service shall be understood as included, unless it be so considerable as to seem rather an article to be converted into ready money than for real use. His money, his diamonds, and his saleable effects (consequently bills of exchange also), of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The Admiral will declare to the General that the British Government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his escape.

"As an attempt might be made to make a part of his property pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulations.

"The Admiral is not to take any person on board for St. Helena without the consent of such person, to whom he is previously to explain the necessity of being subjected to all the regulations which it may be thought proper to establish for securing the person of the General. It must be made known to the General, that if he make any attempt to escape he will expose himself to close imprisonment; and that any of his suite who may be discovered in endeavouring to facilitate his escape will incur the same punishment. All letters which shall be addressed to him, or to any of his suite, are to be delivered in the first place to the Admiral or the Governor, who is to read them pre-

viously to transmitting them. The same regulation is to be observed with respect to letters written by the General, or those of his suite.

"The General is to be informed that the Governor and the Admiral have received positive orders to forward to his Majesty's Government any request or representation he may think proper to make. Nothing is left to their discretion on this point; but the paper on which such representations shall be written is to remain open, in order that they may subjoin such observations as they may think expedient."

Captain Maitland also received an order from Lord Keith, that all arms of every description were to be taken from the French, of whatever rank, who were on board the Bellerophon. These arms were to be carefully packed, and remain in charge of the captain of the Bellerophon, and the captain of the ship to which the French were to be transferred.

This order was not, however, literally executed, for Napoleon was allowed to retain his sword; and, on their arrival at St. Helena, the swords of the French officers were restored to them.[1]

[1] Count Montholon invents a story of Bonaparte's sword having been demanded of him on the 7th of August by Lord Keith. His Lordship, he says, "lui dit, d'une voix assourdie par une vive émotion, '*L'Angleterre vous demande votre épée.*' L'Empereur, par un mouvement convulsif, posa la main sur cette épée qu'un Anglais osait demander. L'expression terrible de son regard fut sa seule réponse. Jamais elle n'avait été plus puissante, plus surhumaine. Le vieil Amiral se sentit foudroyé: sa grande taille s'affaissa; sa tête, blanchie par les années, tomba sur sa poitrine comme celle d'un coupable qui s'humilie devant sa condamnation. L'Empereur garda son épée."—*Récits de la Captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène*, par M. le Général Montholon: Paris, 1847, tom. i. p. 118. This is pure fiction. The story is contradicted by Count Las Cases in his Journal, who says, "I asked whether it was possible that they would go so far as to deprive the Emperor of his sword? The Admiral replied that it would be respected, but that Napoleon was the only person exempted, as all the rest would be disarmed."—(Ed. Paris, 1824, tom. i. p. 102.)

On the 7th of August Bonaparte was removed to the Northumberland, accompanied by a suite of twenty-five persons; namely, Count and Countess Bertrand and their three children; Count and Countess de Montholon and their child; Count de Las Cases and his son, a youth of the age of fourteen; General Gourgaud; Marchand, St. Denis (sometimes called Aly), Noverraz, and Santini, valets-de-chambre; the two Archambaults, brothers, grooms; Gentilini, footman; Cipriani, maître-d'hôtel; Le Page, cook; Pierron, butler; Rousseau, steward; and Josephine, Bernard and his wife, servants of Count Bertrand. As M. Mengeaud, the surgeon who accompanied Napoleon from Rochefort, was unwilling or unable to follow him to St. Helena, Mr. Barry Edward O'Meara, the surgeon of the Bellerophon, was chosen by Bonaparte and permitted by Lord Keith to accompany him in the capacity of medical attendant.

The Northumberland sailed on the 8th of August, with a small squadron consisting of the Havannah frigate and several sloops of war.[1] They hove to off Funchal, in Madeira, for refreshments, and arrived at St. Helena on the 15th of October. In a letter written a few days after they landed by O'Meara, to his friend Mr. Finlaison at the Admiralty (with whom he kept up a secret correspondence, which we shall have occa-

[1] An account of Napoleon while on board the Northumberland was published by Mr. Warden, surgeon of that vessel, in a work purporting to be 'Letters written on board H. M. S. Northumberland and at St. Helena.' There is little doubt, however, that this title was a misnomer, and that the letters were in reality concocted in England afterwards from notes perhaps taken previously. This is proved by the internal evidence of various discrepancies and mistakes which could not have occurred if the letters had been written at the dates they profess to bear. They were ably criticised in the 'Quarterly Review,' No. XXXI., p. 208, and No. XXXII., p. 486. We shall have occasion again to advert to Mr. Warden's book in the course of the narrative.

sion to consider more fully hereafter), he gives a description of the exiles on board the Northumberland, which stands in remarkable contrast to the style of his printed work, and the tone in which he there speaks of the French ladies at Longwood. Nothing but the necessity there is for exhibiting this writer in his true colours, and showing what were his *real* opinions, could induce me to publish such remarks. But it must not for a moment be imagined that what O'Meara says in disparagement of others is to be believed because he asserts it. Henceforward we may hope that the character of no one will be affected by his statements. In the letter referred to he says,—

"During the passage the ladies were either ill the whole time or fancied themselves to be so, in either of which cases it was necessary to give them medicine, in the choice of which it was extremely difficult to meet their tastes or humours, or their ever unceasing caprice; what was most extraordinary, they never complained of loss of appetite. They generally eat of every dish in a profusely supplied table of different meats twice every day, besides occasional tiffins, bowls of soup, &c. They mostly hate each other; and I am the depository of their complaints, especially Madame Bertrand's, who is like a tigress deprived of her young whenever she perceives me doing any service for Madame Montholon. The latter, to tell the truth, is not so whimsical nor subject to so many fits of rage as the other. Bonaparte was nearly the entire of the time in perfect health. . . . During the passage Napoleon almost invariably did not appear out in the after-cabin before 12; breakfasted either in bed or in his own cabin about 11; dined with the Admiral about 5; stayed about half an hour at dinner, then

left the table and proceeded to the quarter-deck, where he generally spent a couple of hours either in walking or else leaning against the breach of one of the quarter-deck guns, talking to De Las Cases. He generally spoke a few words to every officer who could understand him; and, according to his usual custom, was very inquisitive relative to various subjects. His suite, until the day before he landed (three days after our arrival), invariably kept their hats off while speaking to him, and then by his directions remained covered. He professes his intention (I am informed) to drop the name of Bonaparte, and to assume that of a Colonel he was very partial to, and who was killed in Italy. He is to proceed in a few days to Longwood, the present seat of the Lieutenant-Governor, where there is a plain of above a mile and a half in length, with trees (a great rarity here) on it. He is to have a captain constantly in the house with him, and is also to be accompanied by one whenever he goes out: none of his staff are to go out unless accompanied by an English officer or soldier. I had a long conversation with him the day before yesterday. Amongst other remarks he observed, 'Why, your Government have not taken the most economical method of providing for me; they send me to a place where every necessary of life is four times as dear as in any other part of the globe; and, not content with that, they send a regiment here, to a place where there are already four times as many inhabitants as it can furnish subsistence to,[1] and where there are a super-

[1] Upon this passage Sir Hudson Lowe has observed, "There is truth in this remark, yet the Governor is constantly abused both as to the quality and quantity of the provisions, as if he could have always had access to a regularly supplied European market. The difficulties in this respect are little understood in Europe."

abundance of troops also. This is the way,' continued he, 'that you have contracted your national debt; not by the actual necessary expenses of the war, but by unnecessary expenses of colonies. This island costs, or will cost, two millions a year, which is so much money thrown in the sea. Your East India Company,' said he, 'if their affairs were narrowly scrutinized, would be found to lose instead of gaining, and in a few years must become bankrupt. Your manufactories, in consequence of the dearness of necessaries in England, will be undersold by those of France and Germany, and the manufacturers will be ruined.' He is greatly displeased with the island: he says 'there is nothing good in it but *air*.'"[1]

---

[1] "It is here *admitted* that *the air was good*, and where the *air* is *good* the *climate* cannot be *bad*."—*Note by Sir Hudson Lowe.* Referring to this passage Sir Hudson Lowe observes,—"On this, and indeed on all other specified subjects of complaint, I may quote a suppressed passage from the Journal of Count Las Cases, which told too much to be published—'*Les détails de Ste. Hélène sont peu de chose*; C'EST D'Y ÊTRE *qui est la grande affaire*.'"

Count Las Cases tells us in his Journal that Bonaparte remarked to him on the 1st of February, 1816, "After all, as a place of exile, perhaps St. Helena was the best. (Après tout, exil pour exil, Ste. Hélène était peut-être la meilleure place.) In high latitudes we should have suffered greatly from cold, and in any other island of the tropics we should have expired miserably under the scorching rays of the sun. This rock is wild and barren, no doubt; the climate is monstrous and unwholesome; but the temperature, it must be confessed, is mild (*douce*)."

CHAPTER II.

SAINT HELENA — THE BRIARS — LONGWOOD — CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR GEORGE COCKBURN WITH COUNTS MONTHOLON AND BERTRAND — O'MEARA.

WHAT were the feelings of the imperial captive when he first gazed upon that lonely rock of the ocean which was henceforth to be his island prison? Although he once said of himself that he had a soul of marble,[1] he was not cast in the mould of the fallen Archangel, who could exclaim in all the pride of unconquerable self-reliance,

"What matter where, if I be still the same?"

The mind of Napoleon was dependent for happiness on the accidents of external fortune. He had an organization which was sensitive in the extreme. It has been truly said that exalted genius has generally in its composition something of a feminine as distinguished from an effeminate nature, and this is perhaps the reason why it is so often susceptible of annoyances and disgusts which a coarser and rougher temperament does not feel. We have read an anecdote of Napoleon which tells us that, when once in the presence of his troops he tasted some of the soldiers' soup, he had the greatest difficulty in swallowing it because he detected a hair in the spoon. He mastered, however, although he could not wholly conceal his repugnance. The sight of St. Helena must have smitten the heart of such a man with dismay. Its appearance from the sea is gloomy and forbidding.

[1] Voice from St. Helena, ii. 391.

Masses of volcanic rock with sharp and jagged peaks tower up round the coast and form an iron girdle which seems to bar all access to the interior. And the few points where a landing can be effected were then bristling with cannon, so as to render the aspect still more formidable.

The whole island bears evidence of having been formed by the tremendous agency of fire, but so gigantic are the strata of which it is composed, and so disproportioned to its size, that some have thought it the relic and wreck of a vast submerged continent. Its seared and barren sides, without foliage or verdure, present an appearance of dreary desolation. No delicious scenery, like that of Funchal in Madeira, allures the mariner to stop on his voyage, and the exigency arising from the want of water or provisions alone induces him to visit the lonely rock. But even here nature has not left herself without witness that she possesses softer charms. There are few places in the earth where we can travel from Dan to Beersheba and say with truth that all is barren. In the narrow valleys that radiate from the great basaltic ridge which forms the back-bone of the island and wind themselves between the hills towards the coast she has scattered loveliness with a lavish hand. Vegetation there flourishes, and the eye is gratified and refreshed with a variety of foliage and the verdure of grassy slopes. "That the outwardly wild and shapeless mass of rock which St. Helena seems upon its being approached," says an accurate observer, "should contain the alternation of hill and dale, and the delightful scenes of luxuriant and endless verdure, which in the interior everywhere meet the eye, has been the wonder of all who have ever beheld them."[1]

[1] Seale's 'Geognosy of St. Helena.'

But on emerging from the ravines to those parts of the island where there is any table-land, a different kind of scenery appears. Here there is little wood, except that of the gum-tree, which affords scanty shade, and on every side frown masses of dark rock, the summits of which are clothed with the cabbage-tree and a gigantic species of fern.

> "Each purple peak, each flinty spire,
> Is bathed in floods of living fire;
> But not a setting beam can glow
> Within the dark ravines below."

The plains in the upland, however, which exist only at Deadwood and Longwood, are by no means barren. They are covered at various depths with a shaggy lava of a brown and reddish hue, with a steel tarnish of amorphous scoriæ, parts of which soil yield corn and pasture in abundance. And the climate here is more healthy than in the valleys. The heat of the sun is tempered by a refreshing breeze, which, wafted from the southern ocean, envelops the more elevated parts of the island in a shroud of mist. With respect to the climate, Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, in a letter to the author, gives the following account of his experience of it during several years:—"Lying within the influence of the south-east trade-wind, which is usually a strong breeze between the Cape and St. Helena, the tropical heat is moderated thereby to a delightful temperature, and perhaps there is no finer climate to be found than in certain parts of St. Helena. In the town I rarely saw the thermometer above 80°, while the general height may have been about 75°. But I write from memory, having lost my register of the temperature. Between Longwood and James Town there is a difference of 8° or 10°. A fire is rarely necessary, unless perhaps as a corrective of the dampness produced by fog, to which

the elevated portions of the island are occasionally liable. I believe the average duration of life at St. Helena to be much as in England."

And Mr. Henry, who was stationed there as assistant-surgeon during the time of Napoleon's residence at Longwood, says,[1]—

"For a tropical climate, only fifteen degrees from the line,[2] St. Helena is certainly a healthy island, if not the most healthy of this description in the world. During one period of twelve months, we did not lose one man by disease out of five hundred of the 66th quartered at Deadwood. In 1817, 18, and 19, Fahrenheit's thermometer kept at the hospital there ranged from fifty-five to seventy degrees, with the exception of two calm days when it rose to eighty. It was about twelve degrees higher in the valleys and in James Town on an average; but from the situation of the latter, and the peculiar radiation of heat to which it was exposed, the temperature was sometimes upwards of ninety. The great source of health and comparative coolness in St. Helena is the south-east trade-wind, coming from an immense extent of the southern ocean, which winnows the rock, and wafts over it every morning a cloudy awning that mitigates the strong sun. This is not without concomitant humidity in the highlands for half the year, but the inconvenience is as nothing compared with the comfort, fertility, and salubrity which the clouds bestow.

"Notwithstanding the assertions of Napoleon's adherents, who had an interest in painting the place in as dark colours as they could, I must maintain that, correctly speaking, we had no endemic disease in the

[1] Events of a Military Life, vol. ii. p. 45.

[2] It would be more accurate to say sixteen degrees. St. Helena is situated 15° 55′ south latitude.

island. Human life, certainly, did not extend to the same length as in cooler regions, though some organs appeared to be privileged there; diseases of the lungs, for instance, being very rare. It has been stated that there are no old people in the island, but this is certainly a mistake, though the proportion may appear small to an English eye. I believe it is as large as in Spain and the south of Italy; and I have seen some blacks of eighty, and whites approaching ninety. The upper parts of St. Helena, including the residence of Bonaparte, are decidedly the most healthy, and we often moved our regimental convalescents from James Town to Deadwood for cooler and better air. The clouds moved so steadily and regularly with the trade-wind, that there appeared to be no time for atmospherical accumulations of electricity, and we never had any thunder or lightning. No instance of hydrophobia in man or any inferior animal had ever been known in St. Helena."

Napoleon did not land at James Town until the evening of the 17th of October, when he took up his abode for one night in the town, at the house of Mr. Porteous, which had been engaged for him by the Admiral, but the next day he removed to the Briars, a country house about a mile and a half from James Town, belonging to Mr. Balcombe, who afterwards became purveyor to the establishment at Longwood.

On the 17th two proclamations were issued by Colonel Wilkes, the acting Governor of the island.

One of these warned "all the inhabitants or other persons on this island from aiding or abetting hereafter, in any way whatever, the escape of the said General Napoleon Bonaparte, or that of any of the French persons who have arrived here with him, and

interdicted most pointedly the holding of any communication or correspondence with him or them, excepting only such as may regularly be authorized by the Governor, or Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, in whose immediate charge the said General Bonaparte and his attendants are particularly placed."

The other was as follows:—

"PROCLAMATION.

"October 17, 1815.

"Whereas, during the detention at St. Helena of General Napoleon Bonaparte, and the French persons attending him, it appears essentially necessary to adopt some additional precautions on the island, and particularly by night: This is therefore to give notice to all the inhabitants and other persons of every description, that after this date nobody whatever will be permitted to pass in any part of the island (excepting within the immediate precincts of the town), between the hours of nine at night and daylight in the morning, without having the parole of the night, the sentries and patrols having orders henceforth to secure and hold as prisoners until morning all persons they may find between the said periods not possessing the parole; and the officers of the different guards, &c., are to cause all persons so taken up to be sent, prior to being released the next morning, to the Governor, with a statement of the particular circumstances under which they were apprehended, that he may, if he judge necessary, make such further investigation into the case, or take such further steps respecting it, as to him may appear advisable. It is distinctly to be understood by the inhabitants that this ordinance is in no respect intended to interfere with the customary intercourse of hospitality, and that every proper facility will be given to any respectable inhabitant who

may intend to return home at a later hour than nine o'clock, by application to the field-officer of the day if going from town, or to the commissioned officer commanding any outpost in the country; but a written report of all persons to whom the parole may thus have been granted in the country must be made to the field-officer of the day on the ensuing morning. Patrols from all the outposts are to be sent at uncertain hours of the night, to be determined by the field-officer of the day, for the purpose of enforcing this regulation."

Another proclamation on the same day declared that the whole coast of the island and all vessels and boats belonging to it were placed under the immediate control of Sir George Cockburn, and all owners of boats were commanded to make an exact return, specifying the description and use to which they were applied.

On the 22nd of October Sir George Cockburn sent H.M.S. Redpole to England, and addressed an interesting report of his proceedings to Mr. Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty. In his despatch he said,—

"On the day of my arrival I lost no time in consulting fully with Governor Wilkes upon the subject of the important duties with which I am charged; and the next day, having visited the different houses and estates throughout the island, and the Governor, as well as the Members of the Council, and every other person I have consulted here, most fully concurring with me in considering Longwood not only the best, but the only place on the island calculated to answer for the future residence of General Bonaparte, I have not hesitated in fixing upon it for the purpose accordingly. Longwood is detached from the general inhabited parts of the island, therefore none of the inhabitants have occasion, or are at all likely, to be

met with passing in its neighbourhood, excepting those who have business with the General or the estate: it is the most distant from the parts of the coast of the island always accessible to boats, some of which spots, owing to the present inadequacy of their defences, the Governor considers it of importance to keep from the view of General Bonaparte and his military followers; and at Longwood an extent of level ground (easily to be secured by sentries) presents itself, perfectly adapted for horse exercise, carriage exercise, or for pleasant walking, which is not to be met with in all the other parts of the island. The house is certainly small; but it is, I think, equal in size and convenience to any of the others I have seen on the island (out of the town), excepting only the Governor's (Plantation House); and I trust the carpenters of the Northumberland, with the assistance of the workmen the Governor has kindly offered me, will in a little time be able to make such additions to the house as will render it, if not as good a one as might be wished, yet at least as commodious as necessary; and whenever the artificers and frames, &c., my Lord Mulgrave promised to send after me, arrive, we shall be enabled further to improve it to any extent required.

"I have found the premises of Longwood in possession of the Lieutenant-Governor, but this officer, also most fully concurring in the advantages it offers for the residence of General Bonaparte, has most readily consented to change as quickly as possible into another house, and has already commenced moving his effects, &c., accordingly. I have therefore reason to hope I shall be enabled to get the General and his party into it in the course of next week. In the mean time, as, after being so long confined on

board of ship, the General showed much anxiety to be permitted to land, which might also be considered necessary for his health, and the Governor not showing any objections to it, I have hired for the moment a furnished house in the town by the week, in which are now General Bertrand and all the other attendants; the General himself having, at his own request, removed the day after his landing to a small house a little way out of the town, in which there is only one spare room for himself.

"I now beg to draw their Lordships' attention to the subject of the expenses to be incurred for the maintenance of General Bonaparte and his followers on this island, upon which point, my instructions not being very detailed, I will venture to adopt such measures as appear to me most advisable under the existing circumstances, until I can receive the further pleasure of His Majesty's Government. I find that neither General Bonaparte nor any of his followers have brought him an article of furniture excepting a small service of plate, and another of Sèvres china; linen, and everything else, therefore, for the establishment of Longwood, must be purchased for them; and as they have not brought any money with them, and the sum I took from them on board the Bellerophon and transmitted to the Treasury proved so small that it becomes out of the question looking to it for covering the expenses for establishing and maintaining here the General and his suite, agreeably to what I consider the intention of His Majesty's Government on this head—viz. 'that, as far as it may prove practicable, such comforts and establishment as are usually enjoyed by officers bearing the rank of full General should be allowed to General Bonaparte, and a table of eight covers kept for him, with everything else in a similar

ratio'—I propose to draw, from time to time, from the commissary such sums as may be necessary for the furnishing and keeping up accordingly, or as near as conveniently may be, an establishment of this nature for the General and his suite; and the better to enable me to effect this at the cheapest rate, and to avoid the imposition I might be liable to as a stranger, I have engaged a Mr. Balcombe, a respectable inhabitant, strongly recommended to me by Colonel Beatson before I quitted England, and by the Governor since my arrival, as most conversant and efficient in such matters, to purvey for me, and generally to assist me in procuring the several things it becomes necessary for me to purchase upon the island. . . . And it is necessary I should add, whilst on this subject, that the Count de Bertrand has already applied to me to know what allowances himself and the other attendants of Bonaparte may look for, independent of their maintenance and lodging. I avoided giving a direct answer to him, on the plea of not having precise instructions on the point; but it does not appear that any of these people have private fortunes of their own, by means of which they might be supplied; and as themselves and their families will be constantly wanting clothes, &c., it becomes a subject on which I beg to request I may be furnished with directions. General Bonaparte has since his arrival also applied to me for a carriage, on the plea of its being often the only exercise he can take; and as fortunately Governor Wilkes happens to have one which he will spare me for this purpose, I shall not hesitate in purchasing it; and the General having also applied to me to cause him to be furnished with horses, I propose to send to the Cape for some for him, such indulgence appearing to me to come decidedly

within the idea I have of the comforts and establishment intended to be allowed him.

"I am sorry to have to add that, since General Bonaparte has landed here, he has appeared less resigned to his fate, and has expressed himself more dissatisfied with the lot decreed him, than he did before; this however I merely attribute to the first effects of the general sterile appearance of this island around where he now resides, and the little prospect it yields himself and followers of meeting with any of those amusements and enjoyments they have been accustomed to. I am therefore the more anxious to get them into Longwood, where the appearance of the country is so much better; and when I have procured for them the carriage, horses, &c., before mentioned, I am not without hopes that this discontented turn may again wear off; and their Lordships will, I trust, very readily believe that nothing shall ever be wanting on my part to render the General's detention here as little afflictive and irksome to him as possible, so long as the paramount object of his personal security be not compromised. . . . .

"I have considered it incumbent on me to send back to England, also in the Redpole, a French servant who was smuggled on board the Northumberland, in addition to the twelve domestics allowed to General Bonaparte, in the hurry of the transshipment from the Bellerophon, though I had previously most pointedly refused to allow of his going. I have therefore not permitted him to set his foot ashore here, and I have directed Captain Denman to be careful to secure him when he arrives in England, until their Lordships' pleasure respecting him shall be known. . . . .

"I have now only to add, for their Lordships' consideration, that my present idea is, with a view to

perfect the security of this island, two vessels of war should be always kept at anchor here, one where the Northumberland now is, and one as far to the southward as she can get shelter; and two brigs in addition to those already sent should also be kept cruizing in the offing, one in the north and the other in the south; to enable me to effect which, giving the necessary reliefs and to supply contingencies, I should require three more vessels of war under my command than are now upon the station, and I must submit to their Lordships the propriety of sending another post-captain to continue on it, to enable me to maintain the necessary discipline by courts-martial, in the event of the same becoming necessary."

On the 5th of November Count Bertrand addressed the following letter and "note"[1] to Sir George Cockburn, protesting against the whole proceedings of the English Government towards Napoleon and his suite, and complaining of the regulations to which they were subjected. It should be observed that, although every possible effort was made to render Longwood fit for their reception, it was not ready until the 9th of December:—

"Monsieur l'Amiral, "St. Helena, 5th November, 1815.

"As you are charged with everything concerning us, I have the honour to address to you a Note of the way in which the service about the person of the Emperor has hitherto been performed. I will occasionally write to you on what regards us.—Pray accept, &c.

"The Grand Maréchal Comte Bertrand."

[1] Throughout the present work translations are generally given of letters, documents, and expressions in a foreign language, but, wherever it can be at all important to know the exact words used in the original, they are subjoined.

"NOTE.

"The Emperor embarked on board the Bellerophon in the roads off the Ile d'Aix on the 15th of July; he remained on board without landing till the 7th of August, when he was put on board the Northumberland; she sailed immediately for St. Helena, and anchored in the roadstead on the 15th of October at nine in the morning, and the Emperor remained on board during the 15th and 16th. On the 17th, at eight in the evening, after a passage of ninety-five days, the Emperor, accompanied by Admiral Sir George Cockburn and the Grand Maréchal, landed, and repaired to a furnished house, where he occupied one room, the rest of the house being occupied by the officers and other persons of his suite. The next day, the 18th, at six in the morning, he went on horseback with the Admiral and Grand Maréchal to look at Longwood, where he breakfasted with the Lieutenant-Governor. On his return he stopped at a place two miles from the town, and situated at the extremity of the valley, preferring to live here in a room which the Admiral had prepared, rather than in the house in town, which had neither court nor garden in which he could walk. The Emperor is still in the same lodging, where he is very uncomfortable, the pavilion having but one room, in which he is obliged to sleep, eat, work, and remain all day. The Comte de Las Cases and his son occupy a small chamber above. After so long a confinement on board ship it would have been very desirable if the Emperor could have had a bath; but this was not possible, the place offering no convenience of any kind. It is necessary that the Emperor should be able to ride on horseback; for this purpose a few saddle-horses are requisite, which would be attended to by his own people—one for himself, one

for an officer of his suite, and a third for his servant. After having been for three weeks on board the Bellerophon with our arms, and surrounded by the respect due to the Emperor and to our rank, we were disarmed, in violation of all justice, and even contrary to the usages of war in the case of general officers. The Admiral has just returned our swords to us, but on the condition of our not using them, as we are always to consider ourselves prisoners of war. Indeed we cannot communicate with the pavilion occupied by the Emperor without being accompanied by a serjeant; and the Emperor himself was at first surrounded by sentries and officers on duty. The sentries have since been withdrawn. It is greatly to be desired that the authorities would so conduct themselves towards the Emperor as to banish from his mind all recollection of the painful position in which he is placed; I do not hesitate to say it is such as barbarians even would be touched by and have consideration for. It cannot be feared that any escape can be effected from this rock, almost everywhere inaccessible. Why can they not, if it be deemed necessary, increase the guard on the coast, and allow us to ramble over the island without restraint? It were also much to be wished that we might be lodged near the Emperor, to bear him company.

"THE GRAND MARÉCHAL COMTE BERTRAND."

To this Sir George Cockburn answered,—

"Sir, "Northumberland, St. Helena Roads, "November 6, 1815.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and note of yesterday's date, by which you oblige me officially to explain to you that I have no cognizance of any Emperor being actually upon this

island, or of any person possessing such dignity having (as stated by you) come hither with me in the Northumberland. With regard to yourself and the other officers of distinction who have accompanied you here, it has been, and will continue to be, my most anxious study to render your situations as little irksome and disagreeable as possible under the existing circumstances; and I can only further assure you that I very sincerely lament to find my endeavours on this head seem hitherto to have proved unsuccessful. I do myself also the honour of stating to you, in reply to a part of your note, that it is incompatible with my instructions to permit of your passing beyond the established line of sentries without your being accompanied by an English officer or non-commissioned officer. I seize this opportunity to beg of you to accept the assurances, &c.[1]

"G. COCKBURN."

Sir George Cockburn transmitted this correspondence to England on the 11th of the same month, and wrote to Earl Bathurst:—

"I beg permission to remark to your Lordship upon this curious note, that, although the tenor of it prevented my entering at all into the merits of M. de Bertrand's statement, yet General Bonaparte (if by the term 'Emperor' he meant to designate that person) inhabits his present temporary residence wholly and solely in compliance with his own urgent and pointed request after looking at it; and the only English officer stationed there is the one in attendance upon the General, agreeably to my instructions on that head.

"I will only detain your Lordship, however, whilst

[1] See 'Recits,' i. 175.

I add, that since my arrival in this island I have not ceased in my endeavours to render these people as comfortable as their situations and the existing circumstances would admit of; but, I am sorry to say, I find their requests and complaints (particularly those of M. de Bertrand) but increase with every favour and attention shown them."

There is, it must be confessed, some affectation in this letter; and we can only smile at Sir George Cockburn's doubt as to who was meant by "the Emperor" at St. Helena. Upon the question of the imperial title, it is, I think, difficult to refute the arguments used by Napoleon in favour of his right to be styled Emperor. *We*, indeed, had not recognised that title when he was on the throne of France, but the reason was that we had been at war with him from a period prior to his assumption of the imperial crown; and no opportunity had occurred for the interchange of courtesies as between friendly powers. But he was not the less Emperor of France, by a solemn act of coronation, with the assent and amidst the acclamations of the nation; nor can we for a moment doubt that if, at any time between his ceasing to be First Consul and his invasion of Spain, he had been willing to make peace upon fair and equitable terms, England would have treated with him in his character of Emperor. Indeed she did so at Châtillon in 1814; and if Napoleon had only then been true to himself, and not been dazzled by a temporary success over the troops of Blücher into a belief that he could arrest the tide of invasion which was rolling over France, he might have kept possession of the imperial throne, with the full assent of England, provided that he was content with the ancient limits of the monarchy.

It seemed puerile in us to ignore a title by which he will be known in history as certainly as Augustus or Charlemagne. It cannot be urged that to recognise Napoleon as Emperor would have been to abandon the cause of the Bourbons, for we had previously concluded the treaty of Amiens with him as the *de facto* ruler of France; and we had no right to impose either a king or a form of government upon that country. A better reason than the almost technical one, that we had not acknowledged him as Emperor in the height of his power, and ought not therefore to do so in his fall, may be found in the danger there might be of keeping alive pretensions which Napoleon had formally renounced. His partisans might be less ready to abandon the cause of their former master while he retained the imperial style, and was present to their minds still as the Emperor, acknowledged as such by the powers of Europe. But there would have been no difficulty in calling him *ex*-Emperor, which would have sufficiently expressed the history of the past and the fact of the present. It would have gratified his feelings, and done much to smooth the difficulties which occurred at St. Helena. Or the English Ministry might have promptly acceded to his own expressed wish to assume an incognito, and take the name of Baron Duroc or Colonel Meudon, which he himself more than once proposed; but Lord Bathurst, as will be seen, threw cold water on the suggestion when it was communicated to him by Sir Hudson Lowe.

At all events, I think we chose for him the worst title that could have been selected. We cannot wonder that he who had entered every capital on the continent of Europe as a conqueror,—who had partitioned kingdoms and dictated laws to nations,—who

had created Marshals of world-wide renown, and had been for seven years seated on the throne of France,—should have felt it as an insult to be told that he was henceforth to be known only as General Bonaparte. A philosopher might indeed have cared little for the name of former sovereignty when its power and reality were gone for ever; but Napoleon Bonaparte was not a philosopher. He had played for the prize of worldly ambition and won a greater stake than had ever fallen to the lot of man. He was not indifferent to titular distinction, and did not affect to despise the insignia of power. "He persisted," says Lamartine,[1] "with an affectation which his flatterers consider heroic, but which history will judge as puerile, because it is a misconception of his fortune, in exacting the titles of Emperor and Majesty, which England, never having acknowledged the Empire, was not officially bound to give him. He appealed to heaven and earth against this breach of etiquette. He dictated notes on this trifle as he would have done on the conquest or the loss of Europe." It was, throughout the whole period of his captivity at St. Helena, a constant subject of irritation and dispute; and, as he himself said, one half of the disgusts he there experienced originated in that source. But it would, I think, have been more magnanimous in England to have humoured in this point the wish of fallen greatness; and no real danger need have been apprehended, although perhaps some little inconvenience might be felt.

Sir George Cockburn wrote to the Admiralty, and suggested that ships coming to St. Helena should call at Bordeaux for claret and other French wines, "as General Bonaparte and his followers (the ladies and

[1] Histoire de la Restauration.

children as well as the gentlemen) invariably drink wine at breakfast, dinner, and supper;" and to give some idea of the average expense of this, he enclosed a statement of the wines which had been consumed on the passage out, in addition to some casks of inferior description for the servants. The whole amounted to more than a hundred dozen of wines of various kinds.

Instructions of the most rigorous nature were given to the officers in command of the various posts and guards, especially those towards the sea, to prevent improper or unauthorised communication with any part of the island; and in addition, an orderly officer[1] was placed in constant attendance upon Bonaparte, whose duties are best shown by his instructions:—

"The officer charged with this duty is not to absent himself from the premises where the General may be staying, more than two hours at a time, without having obtained the sanction of the Admiral or Commandant. He is to make a point of seeing or of obtaining satisfactory information of the General being on the spot, at least *twice* in the twenty-four hours: by 'satisfactory information' is meant such as Dr. O'Meara, or other person of responsibility, reporting having seen him in his own room, confined by sickness or otherwise. Copies of the proclamations which have been, or which may be, issued here with reference to, and in consequence of, the General's being detained upon this island, should be delivered to the officer charged with this duty; and he will be expected to see them attended to and complied with as far as the same may depend upon him, and to be very careful to inform the Admiral whenever he has cognizance of

[1] The first orderly officer was Captain Thomas Poppleton, of the 53rd regiment.

their being in the slightest degree infringed; and he is to endeavour (as far as may be practicable without attracting the General's notice) to prevent the slaves upon the island from approaching, so as to render their being talked to by him likely. Whenever the General rides or walks beyond the boundaries where the sentries are placed, he is to be invariably attended by the officer; and should the General during such rides or walks approach the coast, or any of the fortified parts of the island, the officer is respectfully to request of him to turn in some other direction, acquainting him (if requisite) with the reason. After the arrival of the dragoons written for from the Cape, the officer is, during such excursions, to be always attended by one orderly at least; and the officer on this duty is every day to despatch one of them to the Admiral at eight o'clock in the morning, and at sunset in the evening, with a written report, signed by the said officer, stating the hour the General was last seen by him, or that he received satisfactory information of his being on the spot, and whether everything is going on well with regard to the General and his French attendants, or otherwise, as the case may be. He is likewise to be particular in informing the Admiral whenever he observes symptoms of packing parcels or trunks, or in short any extraordinary movements amongst any of the Frenchmen which may in the least tend to awaken a suspicion respecting them; and he is always to keep a dragoon in attendance ready to send off at a moment's warning between the above specified hours, should circumstances arise which he may judge it advisable to communicate speedily to the Admiral. He is to take care that the General and (after they are established at Longwood) all his attendants are within the house by nine o'clock (a signal

will be forthwith established to notify to all parts of the island the moment the General or any of his attendants may be missed), unless a notification from the Admiral be made to the officer to inform him of the Admiral having given his sanction for their absence beyond that hour. He is clearly to be given to understand that all foreigners of every description who have accompanied General Bonaparte to this island are subject to the same restrictions, and their conduct is to be equally subject to the supervision and control of the officer as the General. And lastly, the officer charged with this duty, who must be of the rank of a captain, is to understand that the subaltern's guard, which, so soon as the General removes to Longwood, is to be established upon the premises, will be ordered to pay immediate attention to any request he may see occasion to make, and, in short, will be entirely subject to his directions."

On the 7th of December, a few days before Napoleon removed to Longwood, a proclamation was issued forbidding civilians to pass eastward of Hutt's Gate in the direction of Longwood, on any pretence whatever, by night or by day, without a passport, on pain of being made prisoners; and private signals were established for the posts throughout the island to intimate the presence and movements of Bonaparte.

While Napoleon was at the Briars he exhibited himself in his most amiable mood. His mind was soothed by the beauty of the scenery, and in the retired privacy of its shady walks he could meditate on the past, and speculate, not perhaps altogether without hope, on the future. He liked the family of the Balcombes, who did everything in their power to minister to his comfort, and he soon made himself

quite at home. He was an especial favourite with the young people, and one of the daughters has written a very interesting account of his stay amongst them.[1] She tells us how good-humouredly he bore her girlish tricks—how she made him burn his fingers with hot sealing-wax, and irreverently pushed the Grand Chamberlain down a steep path against the Emperor —how he revenged himself upon her by running away with her ball-dress—how he played at blindman's buff, and entered into the spirit of the game as heartily as a child. These are pleasing traits of Napoleon's disposition, and showed that he still retained a freshness of heart and elasticity of mind which the vicissitudes of his marvellous career and his mighty fall had not been able to destroy. He occupied while at the Briars a marquee and a single room detached from the house, which had been built for a ball-room. The marquee was pitched on a small lawn, and was connected with the house by a covered way. It was divided into two compartments, of which the inner one formed Napoleon's bedroom, and General Gourgaud slept on a small tent bed at the extremity of the other. On the turf floor between the two divisions of his tent the devotion of his followers had cut out an imperial crown.

In this delightful retreat he resided until the 10th of December, and left it with great reluctance to take up his abode at Longwood, where every exertion had been made to render it as fit for his reception as circumstances would allow. The precincts of Longwood itself comprised a circumference of about four miles. It was of an irregular figure, and fenced by a low

[1] Recollections of the Emperor Napoleon, by Mrs. Abell (formerly Miss Elizabeth Balcombe).

rough stone wall. The space, however, within which Napoleon might ride or walk unattended by an officer, and in complete seclusion, was triangular in form, and embraced a circuit of twelve miles. Within it was situated nearly all the tolerably level ground in the island, and both Longwood and Deadwood adjoining, where the British troops were encamped, were nearly flat and well covered with turf. On the latter ground was formed an excellent race-course, a mile and a half in length, of which one mile was in a straight line. The plateau on which Longwood stands is flanked on all sides by deep and precipitous ravines which form walls of rock inaccessible to the foot of man, and the road leading to it from James Town runs along the top of a narrow ridge, on one side of which lies a tremendous hollow, known by the name of the Devil's Punch Bowl.

The house at Longwood had been originally intended as a country residence for the Governor of the island, and was at first merely a small dwelling of one story. It was added to for the reception of Bonaparte and his suite, and a tolerably correct but not flattering idea of it may be gathered from the following description given by O'Meara in his book:—

"Longwood is situated on a plain formed on the summit of a mountain, about eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea; and, including Deadwood, comprises fourteen or fifteen hundred acres of land, a great part of which is planted with an indigenous tree called gumwood. Its appearance is sombre and unpromising. . . . . Unfortunately the house only consisted of five rooms on a ground floor, which had been built one after the other, according to the wants of the family, and without any regard to either order or

convenience, and were totally inadequate for the accommodation of himself and his suite. Several additions were consequently necessary. . . . . By means of incessant labour Longwood House was enlarged so as to admit, on the 9th of December, Napoleon and part of his household, Count and Countess Montholon and children, Count and young Las Cases. Napoleon himself had a small narrow bedroom on the ground-floor, a writing-room of the same dimensions, and a sort of small antechamber, in which a bath was put up. The writing-room opened into a dark and low apartment, which was converted into a dining-room. The opposite wing consisted of a bedroom, larger than that of Napoleon, which, with an antechamber and closet, formed the accommodation for Count and Countess Montholon and son. From the dining-room a door led to a drawing-room, about eighteen feet by fifteen. In prolongation of this, one longer, much higher, and more airy, was built of wood by Sir George Cockburn, with three windows on each side, and a verandah leading to the garden. This, although it laboured under the inconvenience of becoming intolerably hot towards the evening, whenever the sun shone forth in tropical splendour, by the rays penetrating the wood of which it was composed, was the only good room in the building. Las Cases had a room next the kitchen,[1] which had formerly been occupied by some of Colonel Skelton's servants, through the ceiling of which an opening was cut so as to admit a very narrow stair, which led to a sort of cockloft above, where his son

[1] "Some time afterwards an apartment was built for the Count and his son at the back of the house, which was subsequently divided into a bed and sitting room, with one for their servant. They were so small that there was not room for a chair between the bedsteads of the father and son, and so low that the ceiling could be touched by a person standing on the floor."—*Voice*, p. 16, note.

reposed. The garrets over the old building were floored and converted into apartments for Marchand, Cipriani, St. Denis, Josephine, &c. From the sloping structure of the roof, it was impossible to stand upright in those garrets, unless in the centre; and the sun, penetrating through the slating, rendered them occasionally insupportably hot. Additional rooms were constructing for them, and for General Gourgaud, the orderly officer, and myself, who, in the mean time, were accommodated with tents. . . . . Count and Countess Bertrand and family were lodged in a little house at Hutt's Gate, about a mile from Longwood, which, though uncomfortable, was nevertheless hired at their own request, and was the only one which could be procured at a moderate rate in the neighbourhood, as it was found impossible to accommodate them at Longwood until a new house, the foundation of which was immediately laid down by Sir George Cockburn, could be finished. . . . . A space of about twelve miles in circumference was allotted to Napoleon, within which he might ride or walk, without being accompanied by a British officer. Within this space was placed the camp of the 53rd, at Deadwood, about a mile from Longwood house, and another at Hutt's Gate, opposite Bertrand's, close to whose door there was an officer's guard. . . . . A subaltern's guard was posted at the entrance of Longwood, about six hundred paces from the house, and a cordon of sentinels and piquets were placed round the limits. At nine o'clock the sentinels were drawn in, and stationed in communication with each other, surrounding the house in such positions that no person could come in or go out without being seen and scrutinized by them. At the entrance of the house double sentinels were placed, and patrols were con-

tinually passing backward and forward. After nine, Napoleon was not at liberty to leave the house, unless in company with a field-officer; and no person whatever was allowed to pass without the countersign. This state of affairs continued until daylight in the morning."[1]

Immediately after Napoleon had removed to Longwood Sir George Cockburn drew up the following Regulations for securing his person:—

"That the officer stationed at Hutt's Gate be ordered not to allow any person to pass that post in the direction towards Longwood, excepting only officers in uniform, people belonging to the waterworks or Company's farm, persons having business with the camp, and for the present the persons employed on the improvements carrying on at Longwood, unless furnished with a pass from the Governor, Commandant, or Admiral.

"The officer in charge of the guard at Longwood House to be directed not to suffer any person whatever to pass within the lodge gates, or to come within any part of the premises of Longwood, unless they produce a pass, as in the preceding article, excepting only the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Commandant, Members of Council, and the Admiral and persons belonging to the establishment of the house, to the Company's farm or waterworks, and (for the present) those employed upon the improvements."

An addition was made to these Regulations on the 31st of December, and a pass from Count Bertrand was allowed to introduce persons into the precincts of

[1] Voice from St. Helena, vol. i. pp. 10, 15, 20, 21. Longwood is also fully described, and plans of it are given, in Count Montholon's 'Récits.'

Longwood. Sir George Cockburn stated also in a letter to Sir George Bingham, who commanded the troops,—

"An invitation from Comte de Bertrand to any person to come to Longwood may also be considered in future as a sufficient pass; but it is to be understood that every written document used to pass any person or persons into Longwood premises is to be left with the guard at the lodge gates; and I have further to request you will give directions that all these documents may be carefully preserved and invariably transmitted to me by the earliest favourable opportunity which may offer on the succeeding day."

Secret signals were established for communicating immediate notice of Bonaparte's movements; and Captain Poppleton was directed to inform Sir George Cockburn, by signal, once every morning and again in the course of the evening, "whether all was well with regard to the General and the other foreigners at Longwood;" and he was to intimate occasionally at other times their movements as he might think advisable, particularly when any of them passed (even if properly attended) the cordon of sentinels. Those signals were principally to the following effect: "All is well with respect to General Bonaparte and family." "General Bonaparte is unwell." "General Bonaparte is out, properly attended, beyond the cordon of sentries." "General Bonaparte is out, but within the cordon of sentries." "General Bonaparte has been out longer than usual, and is supposed to have passed the sentries, not properly attended." "General Bonaparte is missing." "General Bonaparte has returned home." "General Bonaparte is in want of ....."

In the event of the signal being made expressive of "General Bonaparte being missing," immediately after it was answered at the commanding telegraphic officer's post, a blue flag was to be hoisted, which was to be repeated by every signal-post on the island as fast as they discovered it; and this flag was to be continued flying until notice was obtained of the General, or till it was hauled down at the post of the commanding telegraphic officer; and upon the above signal being made the signal officers at the different posts were strictly enjoined to lose no time in communicating the intelligence personally to the places nearest them where troops might be stationed, to the end that patrols might be immediately sent out in every direction to ensure his recovery, and to prevent the practicability of any person whatever escaping from the island. Whenever the signal was made of his "being out longer than usual, and supposed to have passed the sentinels, and *not* properly attended," it was to be repeated to the different posts through out the island, and the same precautions were to be taken as in the event of the preceding signal; but the blue flag was not to be hoisted. In the event of either of the foregoing signals being made with reference only to any of the attendants of the General, the signals were to be repeated to the different posts, and the same measures were to be also taken as in those cases, but the blue flag was not to be hoisted.

"On the 20th of December," says Count Montholon, "the Admiral came to Longwood, but the Emperor would not receive him; he was always angry that he had not the whole island for his prison, and refused to believe that the restrictions upon his liberty were the orders of Ministers. He commanded me to

write a series of complaints to the Admiral on this subject."[1] These were comprehended in a letter which was a complete catalogue of grievances, written in a dictatorial and insolent tone. It was as follows:—

"TO ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE COCKBURN.

"Sir, "Longwood, December 21, 1815.

"Our condition at Longwood, distressing as it may be, would not draw from us any complaint, and we could bear it with the resignation of martyrs, were it not for the constant want of respect evinced for our rank and our sufferings. If, to the injustice committed by your Government in sending the Emperor Napoleon to St. Helena, in defiance of the rights of nations, and which will excite the indignation of all times and all people, they have added that of confining us to the most barren spot on the island, at least we had a right to expect those consolations of which even your Ministers had not dared to deprive us; and yet we find that such intercourse with the inhabitants as was allowed by the instructions you communicated to us is every day more restricted. You had arranged that we might walk in any part of the island, if accompanied by an English officer, or by Dr. O'Meara, surgeon of the British navy, and established by you at Longwood. General Gourgaud paid a visit to the Governor at Plantation House, accompanied by that officer; this was in conformity with your own Regulations, and yet you reprimanded Mr. O'Meara, and the next day issued an order to the troops that he was no longer chosen to accompany us, and that we could not for the future go beyond the boundaries of Longwood

[1] Récits, i. 200.

without being escorted by such officer as you yourself should point out on each occasion to the Camp-Major. It was agreed upon between us, Sir, that the porter at the gate of Longwood should be a Frenchman, and the sentinels should refer visitors to him to know if they could be received; this was clearly allowing them to come freely. I accordingly wrote to the Captain of the 53rd regiment, on duty at Longwood, begging him to give orders that persons who should come to visit us might be directed to the lodge where I had placed the porter; but I then learnt, to my great surprise, that it was expressly forbidden to come to Longwood to visit the Emperor or any of us without a passport from you. Can it be possible that we are denied the little consolation which we might derive from the society of a few individuals shut up like ourselves in this desert, or of that of a few of the inhabitants, who have frequently expressed their wish to come and see us? The officers of the 53rd, encamped within 500 paces of Longwood, wished to come here; the permission to do so was refused them. You told me yesterday, Sir, if I understood you rightly, that this order was given only under the apprehension that these visits might importune the Emperor; but his Majesty had never complained of this kind of importunity while at the Briars, and this inconvenience, if even it had been deemed such, could easily have been obviated by directions given by ourselves to the domestics of the establishment. The line of our enclosure seems purposely to have been traced with a view to avoid taking in such of the country houses as, from their position, might have formed the object of a walk. The boundary of the enclosure comprises only arid rocks and ravines which the eye cannot contemplate without horror; the only

vegetation is that of the gum-tree, which affords no shade; water is very scarce and of bad quality. We might, at least, have expected that we should have been spared the inconveniences we had experienced in town from the continual mistakes in the orders given out, but, whatever care the officers and soldiers of the 53rd regiment take to avoid them, the multiplicity and frequent change of orders which they receive are such, that they have not been able to prevent these annoyances from having occurred twice already. I appeal to yourself, Sir, does not every day bring with it some change in our position, or are we not confined to fixed rules? The Emperor is ill at ease at Longwood, and is greatly incommoded by the smell of paint. The climate is more uncongenial at this particular spot than at any other part of the island. It is always windy, and it rains every day. We live in the midst of clouds and in a very damp atmosphere. The Emperor feels his health giving way, and we all suffer more or less. We want for everything, and the little furniture at Longwood seems to be made up of articles that have been worn out in servants' halls, and no French servant — On our arrival here his Majesty commissioned me to go and buy, at his own expense, such furniture and linen as was wanting, and as could be had in the shops of James Town. The next day I learned that Mr. Glover, your secretary, had cautioned the shopkeepers not to let me have anything. There are, within the enclosure in which we are allowed to stroll, some wild goats and partridges; we would have liked to have killed a few, and I had the honour to request of you yesterday to return us our fowling-pieces; but if you cannot, Sir, grant my request without obliging us to give them up every evening to the captain on guard,

we prefer that you should persist in the resolution you took on this subject in town with regard to General Gourgaud. In conclusion, Sir, I beg you will be so kind as to give me your answer to the following demands:—1st, That the enclosure be enlarged, and that we may go without constraint to the Governor at Plantation House. 2nd, That any inhabitants of the island, or any officers of the 53rd regiment, who should desire to come to Longwood, be allowed to do so freely. 3rd, That Dr. O'Meara may be permitted, as heretofore, to accompany us; the refusal given to him to do so being an insult to him as well as to us. 4th, That we be allowed to go to town with an English officer, and that the steward or any other of the Emperor's domestics be also allowed to go to town, accompanied by an orderly, whenever it may be necessary for procuring provisions or for other wants of the house. 5th, The establishment of Longwood, which is unwholesome and disagreeable in summer, will be intolerable in winter; and I demand that we may be enabled to fix ourselves in a part of the island where there is verdure, less frightful scenery, and a temperature more healthy and agreeable. I should have repaired in person, Sir, to carry to you these remonstrances and demands, if I had been permitted to go to town, as was the case in the first days after our arrival. I beg you, Sir, to receive the assurances, &c.

"Le Général Comte de Montholon."

To this letter Sir George Cockburn sent the following reply:—

"To General Comte de Montholon.

"Sir, "St. Helena, December 22, 1815.

"A letter of yesterday's date which I have received bearing your signature I have read, I assure

you, Sir, with equal surprise and concern. With regard to what is therein stated respecting an 'Emperor Napoleon,' I have only to inform you that I have no cognizance of such a person. The very uncalled-for intemperance and indecency of the language which you have permitted yourself to use to me respecting *my* Government, I should not perhaps, Sir, condescend to notice, did I not think it right to inform you that I shall not in future consider it necessary to answer any letters which I may receive couched in a similar strain of unfounded invective, and to assure you how much you are deceived if you really believe the Government of Great Britain have not '*dared*' (as you have been pleased to express it) to give every requisite order for authorising whatever measures may be deemed necessary, as well for the furtherance of the purposes for which you and the other French officers and persons who have accompanied you have been sent here, or for insuring a continuance of due tranquillity and security to the island; although I have the satisfaction to add, that the instructions hereupon breathe throughout the same moderation and justice which have hitherto characterized the whole conduct of my Government towards you, and which (notwithstanding your individual assertion to the contrary) will, I have no doubt, obtain the admiration of future ages, as well as of every unprejudiced person of the present. It is not for me, Sir, to explain the grounds on which I have found fault with Dr. O'Meara or any other British subject on this island. Yourself, Sir, as well as any of the French officers and other persons who have accompanied you to this island, have (until I judge it necessary to give contrary directions) free permission to visit not only the town, but every part of the island (those places alone excepted where there

are fortifications), it being only required that you be accompanied by a British officer whenever beyond the boundaries allotted you around Longwood; but I must still decline consenting to a physician being considered as an officer within the intention of this regulation. No officer nor respectable inhabitant of this island whatsoever has been or will be prevented from visiting at Longwood House, upon being disposed so to do, provided they conform to such regulations (with respect to themselves) as the Governor (if inhabitants) or the Commandant or myself (if officers) may consider it right to require of them, according to the circumstances of the moment. The orders given upon your arrival at Longwood have neither been increased nor altered in the slightest degree, excepting only upon the points to which at your repeated personal solicitation I so reluctantly consented; and as I explained to you, Sir, in the most forcible manner possible, at the moment I so swerved *to oblige you*, the reasons which induced me so long and strongly to combat your wishes to obtain alterations in the regulations then established, I could but little have expected to have received from you the remarks thereupon contained in your letter; and to the question you conclude this subject with, 'whether changes are' not daily taking place with regard to 'your position,' I do not hesitate in answering most pointedly '*No*,' nor do I think it at all likely any will take place, because it does not appear to me at present necessary that any should. Longwood is allowed to be beyond comparison the most pleasant as well as the most healthy spot of this most healthful island. Every pains have been taken to make the house as comfortable as possible within the short time which has been allowed for improving it, and I derived great

satisfaction, when I accompanied General Bonaparte to it, from his having expressed himself to me so much contented with it. I am, Sir, of course proportionably mortified to learn your unfavourable opinion of it, which, however, I am not without hope may soon change with the weather, which has of late been rainy beyond precedent at this season of the year. Mr. Glover, my secretary, assures me that what you state to have learnt, respecting his having desired merchants in James Town not to deliver to you articles you wished to buy with your own money, is without foundation in truth; to prove which, he requests only to know the name of the person who gave you this information. As when I had the honour to see you the day before yesterday, and to receive from you the request respecting the fowling-pieces, in which I immediately acquiesced, the proposal of their being lodged out of the house, though within reach when wanted, originated with yourself, I have not been less surprised at the paragraph on this subject than at the rest of your letter; this being, however, the season at which it is contrary to the laws of the island to shoot, it becomes perhaps the less necessary to enter into further discussion on this head. I have now, Sir, followed your letter to its conclusion, though not without the pain natural to a person upon discovering his constant and unremitted exertions likely to fail in one of their principal objects; I trust, however, what I have stated upon the different objects to which you have referred will at least prove sufficiently explicit to prevent any further misconceptions. I have the honour, &c.

"G. COCKBURN."

It appears that Count Montholon soon afterwards felt somewhat ashamed of his letter of the 21st of De-

cember, for on the 12th of January, 1816, Sir George Cockburn wrote to Earl Bathurst, and told him that Count Montholon had explained to him that it was written in a moment of petulance on the part of Bonaparte, and that he (the Count) was aware of the reproach to which he subjected himself by writing it; also that he considered the party at Longwood to be in point of fact very well off, and to have everything necessary for them, though he was anxious that there should be no restrictions whatever as to Bonaparte going unattended by an officer wherever he pleased throughout the island. "As, however," said Sir George Cockburn, "this is incompatible with my instructions, and also, in my opinion, with the future safety of his person, I have firmly resisted it, and shall most certainly continue to do so until the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, whom I am now daily expecting."[1]

Owing to a mistake Bonaparte was stopped by a sentinel on the 12th of January while riding on horseback near Hutt's Gate. As soon as Sir George Cockburn heard of the circumstance he directed his secretary to write the following note to the orderly officer at Longwood, and he went there himself on the 14th to express his regret at what had taken place[2]:—

"The Admiral was much annoyed this afternoon to find that General Bonaparte had been yesterday re-

[1] Count Montholon says (*Récits*, i. 213) that Napoleon dictated a long letter to Count Bertrand on the 24th of January for the Admiral, complaining of several petty and useless vexations; but no letter of that date has been found amongst the Lowe papers.

[2] Récits, i. 208, 209. Count Montholon adds that Bonaparte accepted the Admiral's excuses upon condition that the soldier should not be punished. Count Las Cases says he was a drunken corporal who had misunderstood the countersign.

fused to pass the sentry at Hutt's Gate. He therefore begs you will have it explained to him that it was entirely a mistake, either of the officer at Hutt's Gate, or of the orders given him; at the same time you will state that General Bonaparte and all his suite (including servants) have the liberty of passing and repassing anywhere within the cordon of sentries; consequently they can come this way as far as the sentry at the Alarm House."

On the 13th of March Count Bertrand wrote to Sir George Cockburn, and asked him whether he could charge himself with a sealed letter from the Emperor to the Prince Regent, with the assurance that it would not be opened, but be forwarded to the hands of the Prince Regent.

The Admiral said in his reply,—

"As I have already had the honour to remark to you, in my letter of the 6th of November last,[1] I have no knowledge of the person designated by you 'the Emperor,' there being no person on this island I can consider entitled to such dignity, *Kings* being actually at the head of our respective countries, and there being more than one nation in Europe, and elsewhere, ruled by *acknowledged Emperors*. I enclose, however, for your guidance, and for that of any of the other distinguished foreigners similarly situated with yourself, extracts of my instructions with regard to the correspondence permitted to you, from which I do not consider myself authorized to swerve."

To this Count Bertrand rejoined,—

"Monsieur l'Amiral, "St. Helena, March 20, 1816.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of

[1] See p. 39, *ante*.

your letter of the 14th March, by which you refuse to forward such sealed letters as we would address to your Sovereign or your Government. I accordingly abstained, on the departure of the Ceylon for Europe, from sending the Emperor's letter to the Prince Regent. The Emperor has verbally desired Captain Hamilton[1] to make known to the Prince Regent the strange treatment to which he is subjected, and that he will have the honour of writing to him so soon as any Englishman of distinction shall visit the island who will take charge of his letter. Nothing, certainly, that is unjust, or contrary to the rights of man and the custom of civilized nations, can surprise the Emperor, on the part of those who have violated in his person the rights of hospitality—rights held sacred even among barbarians. Nevertheless, on reading with attention the extract of the instructions which you have taken the trouble to send me; we think we do not find in it any authority for your conduct on this occasion. How, indeed, can it be conceived that a government would prohibit the direct address to it of complaints, if these were of a nature not to be seen by the person who, at a distance of 2000 leagues from the metropolis, being armed with all power, might commit the most extraordinary excesses? In fact, the spirit of the instructions, by directing that complaints be addressed unsealed, is entirely in the interest of the complainants, and in order that, the complaints being accompanied by your observations, your Government might afford the more prompt satisfaction: this article of your instructions, therefore, so far from being opposed to the interests of those who have occasion to complain, is but a modification in

[1] Of the Havannah frigate.

their favour. Your Government does not prohibit, nor can it prohibit, our sending to it sealed letters when such is the wish of those who write them, still less can such prohibition have reference to letters addressed to your Sovereign; besides which, your instructions speak of demands which might be made; but a letter to the Prince Regent or to your Government may contain other matters with which you ought not to be made acquainted. It appears therefore that you have no right, either by the nature of things or by the spirit of your instructions, to intercept the correspondence with the Prince Regent or with your Ministers; neither would you, if there were in this part of the world a General your superior in this commission, have any right to prevent recourse being had to him. One might well ask if such a discussion as the present is being carried on under the laws of European nations or in the wilds of Tartary? Please to accept, &c.

"LE COMTE BERTRAND."

Sir George Cockburn answered that, "notwithstanding the arguments adduced in this letter, he conceived that nothing could be more clear and conclusive than the following extract from his instructions:—'Any letters addressed to him (General Bonaparte) or his attendants must be first delivered to the Admiral, or to the Governor, as the case may be, who will read them before they are delivered to the persons to whom they are addressed. All letters written by the General or his attendants must be subject to the same regulation.'"[1]

[1] This paragraph deserves particular attention, for the enforcement of the rule by Sir Hudson Lowe was one of the grievances most bitterly complained of by the French, and he was accused of having innovated in this respect upon the practice of his predecessor.

He added,—

"I have no hesitation, Sir, in agreeing with you as to the considerate and benign principle towards you which influenced His Majesty's Government in framing the other paragraph of these instructions alluded to by you; but I must beg to observe to you, Sir, that, although the spirit of that particular instruction, as you very justly observe, is intended to prove favourable to you, yet it does not lose sight of the necessary justice towards myself, or towards whomsoever may remain charged with your detention at St. Helena; it being equally calculated to prevent the possibility of any complaint you might think proper to allege with regard to our conduct towards you here being known in Europe six months without observation or answer from us.

"Although, Sir, it would have been certainly very far from entering my imagination, had it not been for a paragraph in your last letter, I now deem it right, previous to concluding this, to beg of you to be assured that nothing yourself nor any of the foreign gentlemen similarly situated may think proper to write concerning me can, in the slightest degree, affect the line of conduct towards you I consider to be called for from me by the tenor of my instructions, or the consideration and respect towards you which I consider to be called for by your present situation."

When Sir George Cockburn transmitted a copy of this correspondence to Earl Bathurst, he said,—

"I consider General Bonaparte to be angry at my continuing to resist the frequent applications which have been made to me personally by his attendants that he might be permitted to range at pleasure over the whole interior of the island without being attended

by a British officer; but, as I remarked to your Lordship in my letter of the 12th of January last, considering such permission to be incompatible with my instructions, and also with the safety of his person, I have felt it my duty still to refuse my acquiescence thereto."

It is important to notice how clearly it appears from these letters that Sir George Cockburn's measures were displeasing to Bonaparte; and it will be seen hereafter how little reason he and his suite had to complain of increased rigour on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe. But feeling the inconvenience of present restrictions, they were apt to forget the past, and imagine or pretend that they had enjoyed more liberty under Sir George Cockburn. Napoleon afterwards indulged in the grossest abuse of Sir Hudson Lowe, and often contrasted that officer's conduct towards him with the treatment he had received from Sir George Cockburn in a manner highly favourable to the latter, and yet he had spoken in nearly similar terms of Sir George Cockburn himself.[1] This fact is shown by a letter from O'Meara to Mr. Finlaison dated the 16th of March, 1816, which contains some interesting information not in his printed work:—

"Notwithstanding the assertion of some that Napoleon Buonaparte is contented with his lot, I can assure you that directly the reverse is the case, and that he inveighs most bitterly against the British Ministry for sending him here, particularly to me on various occasions. He has been for some time back at Longwood,

[1] Bonaparte's dissatisfaction with Sir George Cockburn appears, moreover, from the works of O'Meara, Count Las Cases, and Count Montholon, as well as from the correspondence between the Admiral and Count Bertrand. Count Las Cases has filled several pages of his Journal with a catalogue of all "the wrongs (*torts*) with which they had to reproach him."

where he is tolerably well lodged, considering the island; though, to tell you the truth, the moveables which compose the furniture of the house are not such as could be wished for, notwithstanding that great exertions were made on the part of Sir George Cockburn to procure the best; but the fact is that the island does not afford them.

"He was greatly displeased with the Admiral some weeks back, in consequence of orders having been given prohibiting all persons from going to Longwood without a pass. He sent for me in great haste, and, with considerable emotion, expressed himself nearly in the following terms:—"That I should demand from the Admiral that the orders prohibiting all persons to visit him or any of his suite should be forthwith rescinded, as well to the officers as to the inhabitants; that he was desirous of seeing the officers of the 53rd regiment, as well as such of the inhabitants as from their situation in life might visit him, and such as he thought proper. That it was absurd to prohibit people from calling upon him, while at the same time he was at liberty himself to go out and call on them.' 'It is,' added he, 'an insult, and one of those which are daily offered to myself or some of my followers. I will never receive any person coming with a pass from the Admiral, as I will immediately set down the person receiving it as being like the donor, and a spy upon me. Tell him, that his sending to inform me that the sentinels are placed in order to prevent people from annoying me with visits is only adding *wrong* to *insult*! I will choose myself what kind of visitors I like. A gross insult has been offered to me by *Glover*, the secretary, going round to the different shops' (this was, however, partly a misrepresentation to him), 'and cautioning the shopkeepers not to give any goods to

the French officers, even if ready money is offered. Yes,' continued he, 'one of them sent me word of it. I wish to furnish the house myself, and pay myself for it. They have collected all the crazy furniture in the island for my use; and probably said at the same time, We will gather all the *rotten* articles in a mass—they are good enough for Buonaparte and the French. Was the Admiral to heap every kind of benefit on me, the manner in which he does it would make me conceive each and every one an insult. Everything is given to us as if we were demanding alms. I have *money and friends* sufficient to pay for everything I want. I want nothing from the English Government. When I was at Elba, I had deputations from the four first commercial cities in France, offering me whatever money I wanted; and from the Americans also. The contemptuous manner in which everything is offered is peculiarly grating. Some forms are necessary with strangers and the unfortunate.' Here he related an anecdote about the Marquis of Semonville, who, when detained by the Austrians and . . . . . ,[1] was nevertheless treated with the most marked respect, served every day in plate with the greatest luxuries, and every species of attention paid to him. 'Let them at least not treat me with contempt, even if they give me nothing. Let them refuse me everything, but do it in a polite manner. Tell him,' continued he, 'that it is not generous to insult the unfortunate.'

"Then becoming more warm, he said, 'Who is the Admiral? I never heard his name mentioned as conquering in a battle, either singly or in general action. 'Tis true he has rendered his name infamous in America, which I heard of, and he will now render it so

[1] The words omitted could not be deciphered.

here on this detestable rock. I believe, however, that he is a good sailor.' Stopping, then, with much agitation, and looking at me earnestly—'Next to your *Government* exiling me here, the *worst* thing they could have done, and the most *insufferable* to my feelings, is *sending* me with such a *man* as him! I will make my treatment known to all Europe. It will be a reflection and a stain to his posterity for centuries. What! does he want to introduce Turkish laws into the rock? Even prisoners under sentence of death are allowed to communicate, by the laws of England and all other civilized nations. Tell him,' continued he, 'what I have told you, and that I will make a remonstrance to the Governor here—to Colonel Bingham, and the civil power—if he does not alter within twenty-four hours the orders which he has given, and to conceive the letter written by Montholon to him as written by myself, and not to blame him.' I told the Admiral everything he had said except the *personal* part. His object was, that every person might be permitted to come and see him at Longwood without a pass from the Admiral, and to get some of the orders changed, which in fact I believe it was not in the Admiral's power to comply with.

"Since that, however, matters have been arranged by the Admiral's permitting such persons as he thinks proper to go to Marshal Bertrand, who lives about a mile from Longwood, and on receiving a pass from him they are allowed to enter Longwood. He has also discovered since this that the Admiral's conduct has been most grossly and shamefully misrepresented and blackened to him. The people he is surrounded by at present give me some faint idea of what the Court of St. Cloud must have been during his omnipotent sway. Everything even here is disguised and

mutilated in the representation to him, particularly by Montholon.[1] Marshal Bertrand, however, is an exception to this, and is, in my opinion, really an honest and good man.

"He frequently breaks out into invectives against the English Government for sending him to this island, which he pronounces (with some reason) to be the most detestable spot in the universe. 'Behold the English Government,' said he, gazing around at the frightful and stupendous rocks which encompassed him. 'This is their liberality to the unfortunate, who, confiding in what he so blindly imagined to be their national character, in an evil hour gave himself up to them. But your Ministers laugh at your laws. I thought once that the English were a free nation, but I see now that you are the greatest slaves in the world,' said he to me one day; 'you all of you tremble at the sight of *that man*. In my greatest power I could not do such things as I have seen done to your sailors and others since I have come to this Isle de Brouillard.'

"Another time, talking to me about the island, he said, 'In fact I expect nothing less from your Government than that they will send out an executioner to despatch me. They send me here to a horrible rock, where even the water is not good; they send out a *sailor* with me who does not know how to treat a man like me, and who puts me a *camp* under my *nose*, so that I cannot put my head out without seeing my jailers. Here we are treated like felons; a proclamation issued for nobody to come near or touch us, as if we were so many *lepers*, or had the itch!' When I brought back the Admiral's verbal answer to him (to the conversation that was related above), viz. that it

[1] It is very necessary to bear in mind this important statement of O'Meara. Ample proofs of its truth will appear in the following pages.

would be better for him to complain to him, the Admiral, if he had any grievances, without the intervention of a third person, he said, 'No, no. I recollect, when I was First Consul, that I had a conversation with your Ambassador—Lord Titwort (Whitworth), I think,' says he, 'was his name—in which I conducted myself with great calmness and propriety, without more heat or intemperance in my language than I am at present making use of to you; but in a short time afterwards I saw in the English paper a paragraph as long as that,' said he, getting up and stretching out his arm very significantly, 'filled with lies.' However, the Admiral a few days afterwards had an audience with him, and satisfied him several of the things he had imputed to him had been misrepresented, and they parted better friends than I expected.

"To give you an instance of how much, even in his present comparative obscurity, attempts are made to conceal the truth from him, and to give him false impressions concerning every occurrence, the following will be a good example:—Some time back General Montholon complained to the Admiral that the rest of the people of the house were continually disturbed by some person or persons endeavouring at night to get into the room of a female servant of his, and also declaring his apprehension that the house might be robbed, and perhaps Napoleon assassinated. He therefore solicited the Admiral to give directions that the sentinels nightly placed about the house might be directed to approach close to the doors and windows, instead of keeping as much out of sight as the nature of circumstances would admit, as heretofore. In consequence of this, the Admiral directed that every night a corporal should be sent up to the house in order to give directions to the sentinels, after a certain

hour, which he (Montholon) was to point out, that no persons should be suffered to go out of, or enter, the house. Now you must know that it is Buonaparte's greatest annoyance to see a sentinel placed near him, and at his request *before* measures were taken to keep them as much out of his sight as was consistent with the duty imposed upon them; therefore, upon finding the sentries nearly stuck into the windows, and blockading closely all the doors, he was greatly offended, and expressed himself very warmly on the subject. Montholon, dreading his indignation, told him that it was the Admiral's orders, without having any request made to him to do so; and he also told General Gourgaud to remonstrate strongly against it, as being a breach of promise on the part of the Admiral, and intended as an annoyance. This came to my ears, and intelligence of the same was immediately despatched by me to the Admiral, who at first could scarcely credit it, but afterwards sent me up word to undeceive General Buonaparte as soon as I had an opportunity of speaking to him, which I did the same day. Napoleon broke out into several invectives against Montholon, whom he called a 'coglione,' imbecile, &c. &c., and only fit to go into the kitchen and look after the pots; adding, that he had worse blood in his veins than the black fellow he had sent off—alluding to a negro he had discharged for caterwauling! This has in a great manner opened his eyes to Montholon, as he scarcely spoke to him for several days; and on one occasion, when Montholon was going into the town for some business, Napoleon said to him, 'Now, Montholon, do not bring me back any *lies* as news, as Marshal Bertrand is going to town to-morrow, and I will *then* hear the truth.' Napoleon has been in very good health, but I have trouble enough with some others of

them. General Gourgaud has been very ill with dysentery, but is now recovering; Madame Montholon also has been ill with the same complaint; she is likely to bring another Montholon into the world shortly. Madame Bertrand has been in general good health, and bears her lot much better than I expected. In fact, though a little passionate, I believe that she is at bottom a good woman; she is certainly free from dissimulation. I had an offer from the Admiral of 328*l.* a-year as a compensation for remaining here. This I think, however, is a very inadequate sum. The assistant-surgeons of the Company have very nearly as much, and the regimental surgeons have upwards of 500*l.*—permanent situations, with two assistants to perform their duties; and the medical superintendent 850*l.* I have to perform every duty of physician, surgeon, apothecary, and indeed orderly-man, I may say; and, in fact, was my duty to be so laborious as it has been for some weeks back, I would not (as the Admiral's own surgeon told him) take a thousand a year to perform it. In fact, if the Government does not choose to give me what Buonaparte offered me himself, viz. 12,000 francs, and repeated once in a letter from General Montholon, which has been forwarded to the Admiralty, I must decline holding the situation any longer. If I must be a prisoner, it is only the hopes of emolument which will induce me to continue in this cage. You will perceive that the greatest part, if not the whole, of this letter would be unfit to meet the public eye, perhaps would not be altogether agreeable to the Government also; however, of this you are, of course, the best judge. I merely tell you in confidence of what really happened—particularly as Napoleon now is able, with a dictionary, to read the English papers, and, of course, in consequence of

nobody ever having been present during the greater part of the conversations which have taken place between him and me, would immediately discover that I was the author, and I know would be greatly offended. It must be evident to you that, unless I was on good terms with him, it would be very disagreeable, if not impossible, to remain as his surgeon. Therefore may I beg of you to confide this only to such persons as you know will not put the contents in the newspapers? Probably you might alter such parts of it as did not take place immediately between him and me, or such as might appear to have been mentioned publicly, to answer any purpose you might wish.

"I will take the advantage of the Northumberland leaving this to send Mrs. Finlaison something by a safe hand. I hope that you are in better health, and that Mrs. Finlaison and all the little ones are quite well. If I have time, I will enclose in another packet a letter for Captain Maitland and my sister; but at present, in consequence of General Gourgaud and Madame Montholon's illness, together with several very serious accidents having happened up here, I have been vainly endeavouring to get time to write. Indeed, you can expect nothing from me but unconnected letters, as I am disturbed every *ten minutes* with calls of some kind, either real or fancied. I really do not know why I should not receive the same pay as a regimental surgeon on shore here; I know that I have ten times more to do. Between sickness, illness, and whims, fears, &c., I have very little time to myself. I have been offered by Buonaparte himself a very handsome salary in addition, which I have *refused* to himself, as I do not think it proper for a British officer to receive money from him without the sanction of

Government. I want the Government to make my situation equal to others of the same rank here, and to be under no obligation to any person else. By the bye, do not be surprised if there is some noise made in England about Buonaparte's household being a little stinted in their living, and in some other particulars. I forgot to mention to you that he is at present composing the History of his Life, several parts of which I have seen. He dictates to the others, and afterwards corrects *himself* what they have written."

On the 26th of March O'Meara wrote to the same correspondent:—

"Gourgaud is now recovering from dysentery, of which he has had a severe attack. During his illness I never saw a man betray so much fear of dying as he did on various occasions: in fact, I was completely scandalized at seeing a man of the sword so excessively timorous. One night a large black-beetle got into the bed, and crawled up alongside of him. His distressed imagination immediately magnified this insect into a devil, or some other formidable apparition, armed with talons, long teeth, and ready to tear away his lingering soul from its mortal abode. He shrieked, became terribly agitated, convulsed; a cold sweat bedewed his pallid face; and, when I entered, he presented all the appearance of a man about to expire, with the most terrific ideas of what could be his future lot; and it was not until after a considerable time that he was restored to some degree of composure. A second instance occurred, with this difference, that the latter was a frightful dream, in which he fancied that he was dragged under the wheel of a huge watermill, where he was crushed to pieces, and lay expiring; at the same time he fancied that his ears were deafened

with the confused voices of numberless people crying, 'He is gone; his life is demanded, and nothing can snatch him from perdition.'

"Disease will doubtless enfeeble the energies of the soul, and produce considerable despondence even in the bravest men; but that a man really brave could manifest so much fear of dying, and such childish depression of spirits, I can scarcely credit. He repeatedly wept, and called upon his mother and sister. This is the man who, when he came here first, most ostentatiously produced a sword to the Miss Balcombes, where he had *himself* represented in the act of killing a Cossack who was endeavouring to take Buonaparte prisoner, with a pompous inscription describing the particulars. At the end of the blade he made them observe a spot, which he explained to the young ladies as being stained with the blood of two Englishmen slain by him at the battle of Waterloo. He also added, that at the same battle he might readily have made the Duke of Wellington prisoner, but that indeed he saw the business was decided, and was unwilling to produce any more effusion of human blood. *Credat.* During his illness, however, he seemed to have forgotten all his exploits, as one day, when whining and lamenting his present state, he said, with many tears, that he did not know for what reason he was exiled and treated like a felon; that he had never done harm to mortal."

And now let us say a few words respecting the writer of these and many other letters which will be quoted in the present work. Barry Edward O'Meara entered the army as assistant-surgeon in the year 1804, at the age of eighteen. While in Sicily, at Messina, with his regiment in 1808, a duel was fought between

two of the officers, to one of whom, the challenger, O'Meara acted as second. He was in consequence tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be cashiered. He then became a naval surgeon, and served in the Mediterranean and the West Indies, where he appears to have discharged his duties to the satisfaction of his superiors. He was in three different ships successively under the command of Captain Maitland, who received Napoleon on board the Bellerophon, and that officer had a high opinion of him. In a letter which O'Meara has published Captain Maitland says that, during the fifteen years he had commanded ships of war, he had never had the pleasure of sailing with an officer in his situation who so fully met his expectations. And he speaks warmly of his attention and tenderness to the men under his charge. So much, in fairness to O'Meara, we are bound to state, and it is all we know respecting his previous career before he became the medical attendant of Napoleon at St. Helena.

In a letter which appeared in the 'Morning Chronicle' on the 17th of March, 1823, he attempted to give an explanation of the letters which he had written from time to time to Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir Thomas Reade, and Major Gorrequer, while he was with Bonaparte at Longwood, and which will be found to be in remarkable contrast to the assertions and opinions contained in his printed work. He said—

"I had been five months at St. Helena when this Governor arrived there. Although I had gone out with Sir George Cockburn, who knew all the preliminaries to my appointment; although I had remained so many months the acknowleged surgeon to Napoleon; although every person fully recognised me—what was the very first step of this Sir Hudson Lowe? He said

that he had no official knowledge of my appointment; and that, if I could not show him my *written appointment*, he would, in his own classical phrase, 'bundle me off the island back to England.'[1] He well knew I had *then no written* appointment. In vain did I refer him to Sir George Cockburn, and to all the officers, British as well as French, as to the fact of my nomination by Napoleon, and its confirmation by the Admiralty. All this testimony was inadmissible; nothing would answer but the written appointment. I asked, if he did send me off the island, what would become of Napoleon in case of illness? 'Oh,' said he, 'General Buonaparte shall be attended by my own surgeon, who speaks Italian, and was for several years with me in the Corsican Rangers. It was some time since I had seen the play of '*Richard the Third*,' and the meaning of the words did not at once strike me.[2] Napoleon was wiser. I did, however, ask him, anxious as I naturally was not to abandon my illustrious charge, whether I could in no way conciliate his protection. He replied that he was determined that no British subject should associate with Napoleon who did not subsequently report his conversation; that I might remain by rendering myself useful to the Government and himself, and by reporting everything that came under my observation, or that made against the French, who had the impudence to complain, though they were much better treated than they deserved, for which they showed no gratitude. The

[1] It will be seen hereafter that this assertion is unfounded.

[2] I suppose O'Meara here alludes to the conversation between Richard III. and Buckingham, where the former says,—

> "Cousin, thou wast not wont to be so dull:—
> Shall I be plain? I wish the bastards dead;
> And I would have it suddenly perform'd."

proposal was abhorrent, but still the alternative was worse, and I determined upon consulting the Emperor. I did so; and never shall I forget that instinct perception for which he was so remarkable, and which at the moment lighted up his countenance. '*Never,* said Napoleon, '*never shall the body-physician of that Governor attend me.* I have seen *his* face, and the proposal needs no other commentary. You may do anything, only keep me out of the hands of that man's body-physician. Doctor, humanity will excuse the pious fraud to which I command you. Speak as you will of us all; gratify his nature by abusing or decrying us; but keep me out of the hands of his body-physician.' The intenseness with which Napoleon spoke convinced me he was agitated and in earnest, and I thus consented to make occasional communications, which, if unexplained, would bear the appearance of duplicity towards him. It is a concession, I admit, of which the humblest man might well be ashamed, but I did it at the intercession of an illustrious individual, whose fallen fortunes made every generous man his friend, while they left no honourable man his enemy. Let it be remarked that all the letters quoted are dated prior to the 9th of October, 1816; and until the carrying into execution the Restrictions of that day, the Governor's conduct, although tyrannical, was still that of a human being."

And in the same letter O'Meara added,—

"The reader will see that they have not produced any letters of mine, except strictly official, subsequent to October 1816.[1] Then came the infamous, the

[1] O'Meara here refers to an article in the 'Quarterly Review' for October, 1822, which was reprinted in February, 1823.

nation-degrading Restrictions, after which I determined to abjure Sir Hudson Lowe and his gang as soon as my appointment had been confirmed in writing, and that I thought myself secured by the support of Lord Liverpool."

Now it will be observed that here are two distinct assertions, — the one, that Napoleon commanded O'Meara to commit a "pious fraud" in gratifying Sir Hudson Lowe by reports defamatory of the French, in order that the Governor, being thus propitiated, might allow him to remain as medical attendant at Longwood; the other, that it was in consequence of the Restrictions which were imposed in October, 1816, that O'Meara determined no longer to keep up appearances, but thenceforth, as soon as he could do it with safety, "abjure Sir Hudson Lowe and his gang." Neither of these statements will for a moment bear examination. With respect to the former, the reader will judge when he peruses the letters themselves, and sees the *abandon* of their style and tone. He will then decide whether they do not bear the unmistakable impress of being the genuine and spontaneous effusions of a man ready, if not eager, to communicate all he knew on the subjects to which they refer, and whether their internal evidence does not prove that the author wrote at the time exactly as he felt. As to the latter, it will be shown that neither at the date of the Restrictions, nor during his correspondence for a considerable period afterwards, did O'Meara find any fault with them, nor was there any change whatever in the tone of his letters until many months subsequent to October, 1816. Moreover, we have the means of testing his veracity in a manner which is seldom possible. We possess an authentic record of his real

opinions and of the facts that came under his eye in a copy of the long and voluminous *private* correspondence which he kept up with his friend Mr. Finlaison, the well-known actuary, who was then a clerk in the Admiralty, of which we shall have more to say by-and-by. We can thus easily ascertain the truth of the statements which a few years afterwards he published to the world, and are able, as it were, to confront the witness with himself.[1]

I have already said that the object which this writer had in view when he printed his 'Voice' was to avenge himself upon Sir Hudson Lowe, as the supposed author of his disgrace. And the means of accomplishing this were not difficult to a man who was content to sacrifice truth, honour, and honesty in the attempt. He had been in constant intercourse with Napoleon, and had had many confidential interviews with Sir Hudson Lowe. He knew perfectly well the real character of every alleged grievance and complaint, and he had taken copious notes of transactions and conversations as they occurred. What then was more easy than to re-cast these memoranda and garble them to suit the object he had in view? to suppress some passages and add others, so as to alter the tone and complexion of the original, and yet preserve throughout a substratum of fact? And this is what O'Meara has done. It is a serious charge to bring against a writer, and one which ought not to be lightly made nor readily believed. But happily for the cause of truth, in this case, proof, amounting to demonstration, of what is here asserted, can be supplied. It may be thought, indeed, that this is impossible, for we have no access to O'Meara's notes, and

[1] This is done with admirable force and effect in the 'Quarterly Review,' No. LV., pp. 219-245 (October, 1822).

how then, it may be asked, can we show what they originally contained? But although we cannot produce these memoranda, there exists a series of confidential letters written by him from time to time, during a great part of the period embraced by his book, in which he relates conversations and events as they happened, and the narrative is obviously taken from the same notes of which he professed afterwards to give to the world a true transcript when he published his work. We are thus enabled to compare and contrast his written and printed statements of the same occurrences, and the result will show that, to gratify his malice against Sir Hudson Lowe, he published a most unfair, not to say false, version of his own notes, and that no reliance whatever can be placed on his veracity. Moreover, at most of the conversations recorded by him, Major Gorrequer, the military secretary of the Governor, was present, and he wrote down at the time, or immediately afterwards, full minutes of all that passed, so that we can cite him as a witness, and oppose his statements to those of O'Meara in his book.

Some things, indeed, are incapable of *confutation*:—as for instance where O'Meara says that Sir Hudson Lowe made a remark "with a peculiar grin," or pointed to a passage in a review "with a triumphant laugh," or "darted a furious look," or met him "with an exulting air." But what cannot be *disproved* may notwithstanding be *disbelieved*. The credit due to such assertions depends upon the fact that we put faith in the truthfulness of the narrator, and common sense as well as common charity requires that, when a writer is convicted in numerous instances of having borne false testimony against another, we should refuse to believe accusations which rest upon his testimony *alone*.

The same remark applies to the coarse and vulgar expressions which O'Meara so frequently puts into the mouth of Sir Hudson Lowe when repeating conversations at which they only were present, and which are intended to convey the idea that the British officer who had been intrusted with the difficult and delicate charge of ensuring the safe custody of Napoleon Bonaparte was a man without the refinement of a gentleman, a sort of military Squire Western, to whom the use of low and violent language was habitual. All that can be said on this subject is, that nothing is to be found in his correspondence or any of the papers he has left which can justify this opinion, or lead us to the belief that such expressions were uttered by Sir Hudson Lowe, and were not the invention of O'Meara.

Parliament met on the 1st of February, 1816, and on the 11th of April two Acts received the royal assent—the one entitled 'An Act for the more effectually detaining in custody Napoleon Buonaparte,' and the other 'An Act for regulating the intercourse with the island of St. Helena during the time Napoleon Buonaparte shall be detained there.'[1] Next day a warrant was issued to Sir Hudson Lowe, under the authority given by the former Act to the Secretary of State, empowering and requiring him safely to detain and keep Napoleon Bonaparte as a prisoner of war in the island of St. Helena during his Majesty's pleasure, and to treat and deal with him as a prisoner of war, under such restrictions and in such manner as had been or should from time to time be signified in that behalf by his Majesty, under the hand

[1] The former of these Acts will be found amongst the Letters and Documents at the end of the volume.

of one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; —and in case of the escape or rescue of the said Napoleon Bonaparte, to retake, detain, and keep him in custody.

But before we enter upon the details of Sir Hudson Lowe's eventful government it is necessary to become acquainted with his previous history, in order to see how far the English ministry were justified in appointing him to an office of such trust and responsibility.

CHAPTER III.

MEMOIR OF SIR HUDSON LOWE UP TO THE PERIOD OF HIS BECOMING GOVERNOR OF ST. HELENA.

SIR Hudson Lowe was, as he himself tells us in a fragment of an autobiography which he left, born in the army. His father was an Englishman, a native of Lincolnshire,[1] who obtained a medical appointment early in life with the troops that served in Germany during the Seven Years' War. After the breaking out of the war of the French Revolution, he was appointed Surgeon-Major and head of the medical department in the garrison of Gibraltar, the duties of which he continued to discharge until his death in 1801. Sir Hudson Lowe, the subject of the present memoir, was born in the town of Galway on the 28th of July, 1769.[2] Shortly after his birth his father's regiment, the 50th, was ordered to the West Indies, and he was taken out with it. On his return to England, and while still at school, before he had attained his twelfth year, he was appointed to an ensigncy in the East Devon Militia, and actually passed a review in military uniform at that age. In the autumn of the year 1787 he obtained a King's commission as ensign in the 50th regiment, which was at that time stationed at Gibraltar, the Governor being the celebrated Sir George Augustus Eliott, afterwards created Lord Heathfield. "The works of the fortress," says Sir

[1] His ancestors had been settled for several generations in the county of Lincoln near Grantham.

[2] Sir Hudson Lowe and Napoleon, therefore, were within one month of the same age.

Hudson Lowe, "were still in the most ruinous state from the effects of the siege. The whole rock was literally covered with fragments of broken shells and shot, and there was not a house in the town, nor a building within the batteries, which did not bear the marks of its devastation. Sir George Eliott was succeeded in the command by General O'Hara, who pursued exactly the same course of discipline, with even an additional degree of personal zeal and activity. . . . I was once proceeding with the escort in order to reach the barrier-gate by daybreak, and was moving with my head down, to stem, as well as I was able, the tremendous gusts of rain and wind which opposed me, when I heard myself very sharply spoken to by a mounted officer, who desired me to 'hold up my head, and look what I was about, for it was not as a mere matter of form I was ordered on that duty.' This officer was General O'Hara, who was on such occasions always the foremost to observe that the public duty was rightly performed. This was the *only real rebuke* I ever experienced from a superior officer during the whole course of my military life. I admitted its point as well as its justice, and am proud to believe the beneficial effect was not wholly lost upon me. I might cite instances of praise bestowed upon my conduct by the same distinguished officer, and even of services he afterwards rendered me; but I relate only the above, because conveying what appears to me a really useful lesson. . . . Upon one occasion, at a guard mounting parade, it is in my recollection that some little innovation had been introduced by Prince Edward which did not happen to meet General O'Hara's ideas, and a reproof was conveyed to him in the hearing of the officers assembled. 'I hope, Sir,' said Prince Edward, 'I shall always do my duty.'

'And if you do not do so, Sir, I will make you do it,' was General O'Hara's reply."

After having been more than four years upon garrison duty, during which time, he says, every third or fourth night was passed on guard, with no other appliances for repose, between the reliefs of sentries, than a blanket upon boards and a pillow resting generally upon a stone, Lieutenant Lowe obtained leave of absence, and travelled in France and Italy, whereby he acquired a proficiency in the languages of those countries, which was of singular use to him in after life.

On his return to Gibraltar the war had broken out afresh, and he proceeded with his regiment to Corsica, where he was actively engaged in service until the 50th was ordered to garrison Ajaccio. The future Governor of St. Helena was thus quartered in the same town with the Bonaparte family, none of whom, however, he seems to have met. He says—

"We were all delighted with our change of quarters to Ajaccio. The town was well laid out, spacious, well built, and the citadel had excellent accommodations, but not sufficient for all the officers. One of the best houses in the town was occupied by the mother and sisters of Bonaparte. The present General De Butts, of the Engineers, then a lieutenant in that corps, had been sent forward to provide quarters, and to intimate to the family that, as their sons were in the French service, or had quitted the island, they must surrender their house for the use of the English garrison. An officer of the 50th, of the name of Ford, was for a short time quartered in their house, and spoke with much satisfaction of the kind manner in which the family acted towards him—the young girls, for such they were at that time, running slipshod about the house, but hardly any notice was taken of

them. There were several balls and parties given shortly after our arrival there; but Madame Bonaparte was not invited to them, on account of the situation of her sons. She soon after removed to Cargèse, which had been originally a Greek colony, to a house which had been built or occupied by Count Marbœuf, whilst at the head of the French administration in that part of the island. It is not from my own recollection I mention these circumstances, because, strange as it may appear, I was not aware of the residence of any part of the Bonaparte family at Ajaccio during nearly two years we were in garrison in that town. I used frequently to hear Napoleon spoken of, but not as connected with the exploit which has been generally mentioned as having given the first early celebrity to his name—his share, namely, in the expulsion of the British from Toulon. The person whom I most frequently recollect to have heard speak of him was Signor Campi, who at that time was employed in our Commissariat, and who afterwards, I have understood, acted as secretary to Joseph Bonaparte. Signor Campi used to speak to me with admiration of the intrepidity which he showed in shutting himself up in the building called the Seminary, with a body of the National Guards, and bidding defiance to the Royalist troops who were stationed in the citadel, and who thus became besieged there at the commencement of the Revolution. He also spoke of rather an unsuccessful operation which had been afterwards undertaken against the Maddalena Islands; but I heard not a word at that time of Toulon, which has since appeared to me rather extraordinary."

On the evacuation of Corsica, Lieutenant Lowe accompanied his regiment to Porto Ferrajo, in Elba. In 1795 he was promoted to a company; and was

soon after appointed Deputy Judge-Advocate to the troops. From Elba the 50th proceeded to Lisbon, and remained quartered nearly two years in Portugal, at Fort St. Juliens. At the expiration of that period it was ordered to Minorca, which was then commanded by General Fox, and to this island flocked a large body of emigrants from Corsica, who were organised into a small corps called the *Corsican Rangers*. With this body of troops Sir Hudson Lowe's fate and fortunes became intimately connected.

The charge of the newly-raised corps was intrusted to him. In August, 1800, being then about two hundred strong, they were sent to Gibraltar for the purpose of joining the expedition to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby. The command of the corps was given to Captain Lowe, with the temporary rank of Major; and it formed part of the reserve commanded by Major-General (afterwards Sir John) Moore. The army landed at Aboukir on the 8th of March, and the Corsican Rangers formed on the right of the Guards. The corps was warmly engaged, and sustained in several conflicts heavy loss. While in Egypt, Major Lowe sent his father, who was then Surgeon-Major to the garrison at Gibraltar, clear and detailed accounts of events as they occurred, but they are too well known to justify relation here.

He was present at the battle of Alexandria, on the 21st of March, 1801, and during the campaign was the means of saving Sir Sidney Smith's life. A picket having mistaken Sir Sidney for a French officer, from his wearing a cocked hat (the English army then wearing round hats), they levelled their pieces at him, when Major Lowe struck up their muskets, and saved him.

He received the first proposals for the surrender of

Cairo, commanded the rear-guard of the escort to the French army on its march to Rosetta, and was present at the advances against and surrender of Alexandria.[1] His zeal and ability in command of the outposts, on various occasions, obtained for him this flattering encomium from General Moore,—"Lowe, when you're at the outposts, I always feel sure of a good night's rest."

And the same gallant and distinguished officer, when writing on the 27th of October, 1801, to Major Lowe's father, thus spoke of the son:—

"In Sir Ralph Abercromby he lost, in common with many others, a good friend; but, however, his conduct has been so conspicuously good, that I hope he will meet with the reward he merits."

Nor was the body of troops which he commanded one of which any leader need have been ashamed. Sir Robert Wilson, one of the historians of the campaign, bears strong testimony to their merits, saying of the Corsican Rangers,—"This corps in every action, and especially in the landing, distinguished itself particularly; and Major Lowe, who commanded it, gained always the highest approbation. Indeed it was a corps which, from its conduct and appearance, excited general admiration, and did honour to the nation of the First Consul of France."

On the evacuation of Egypt they returned to Malta, and at the peace of Amiens were disbanded; but

[1] In a letter to his father on the 28th of May, 1800, Major Lowe mentioned the following instance of the heat of the climate:—"On the 23rd instant we had a strong specimen of the desert wind. The thermometer in the shade stood at 108; when exposed to the southern blast it rose to 120! No metal could be touched. Long Duncan, of the Royals, burnt his fingers in taking his snuff-box out of his pocket. It is now again become tolerably cool."

Major Lowe was confirmed in his rank as Major-Commandant from the 1st of July, 1800. He was then placed on half-pay; and through the recommendation of Major-General Moore was soon afterwards appointed to the 7th or Royal Fusiliers. Congratulating him upon this appointment, General Moore said, on the 21st of April, 1802,—"It is nothing more than you well deserve; and if I have been at all instrumental in bringing it about, I shall think the better of myself for it. . . . . I trust you will always consider me as a person warmly interested in your welfare." Major Lowe remained at Malta from October 1801, until July 1802, during which time he was secretary to a Board for the adjustment of claims. He arrived in England towards the end of August; and about May, 1803, through the influence of General Moore, was appointed one of the permanent Assistants Quartermaster-General. "If," said Sir John Moore, on the 15th of June, "I have had the good fortune to get you employed in the way you wish, I am glad of it. I have known you a long time, and I am confident your conduct, in whatever situation you are placed, will be such as to do honour to those who have recommended you."

Before Major Lowe had been many weeks in the west of England, he was sent by the Government on a secret mission to Portugal, for the purpose of ascertaining the military condition and resources of that country in the districts of Oporto, Viaña, Valença, Chaves, Bragança, and Almeida. Having carefully inspected those places, he reported favourably of the troops and defences, and expressed an opinion of the "practicability of defending the country by united British and Portuguese means." He returned to Lisbon in September, and proceeded to the Mediterranean to raise another corps of Royal Corsican Rangers, of

which he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel on the 31st of December, 1803.

After much difficulty he succeeded in raising his regiment, which formed part of Sir John Craig's expedition to Naples, in conjunction with some Russian troops; and Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe commanded the advance of the army. The success of the French arms, however, and the approach of a powerful force under General St. Cyr and Marshal Massena, together with the withdrawal of the contingent of Russia, destroyed all hope of saving Naples, and the British troops returned to Sicily.

In May, 1806, the island of Capri surrendered to the squadron under Sir Sidney Smith; and Sir John Stuart, who had succeeded Sir James Craig in the command of the army, determined upon sending Colonel Lowe, with five companies of the Corsican Rangers and a small detachment of artillery, to garrison the island, "feeling confident," said Sir John Stuart, in his instructions to him, "that these numbers, under the influence of your zeal and judgment, will suffice to maintain it against any efforts of the enemy." He assumed the command of Capri on the 11th of June, and after the battle of Maida (at which part of his regiment was present) the whole of his corps was sent to join him in the island.

Early in August Sir John Moore arrived at Messina as second in command to General Fox. He visited Capri, where he and Colonel Lowe met for the last time. But their correspondence was frequent, and Sir John Moore's letters show his disgust at the intrigues of the Court of Palermo. In one of these he said,—

"Hitherto we have all of us perhaps, infected by Sir Sidney Smith, interfered too much in Sicilian politics. For my part, I believe the more we keep aloof

from them, and confine ourselves to our military duties, the more we shall improve when it becomes necessary in affairs of real importance, and the less we shall be bespattered with the dirt of a very mean and intriguing court."

Colonel Lowe, however, was obliged to keep up a correspondence with Sicilian agents, more properly called spies, for the purpose of obtaining intelligence, and, amongst others, with a man named Suzzarelli, who seems to have acted the part of a double spy, and betrayed both sides whenever he had the opportunity. But his real character was well understood by Colonel Lowe, who took care not to intrust him with any information of importance.[1]

An event now occurred—the defence and loss of Capri—which, although Colonel Lowe's conduct at the time was warmly applauded by his superiors, became a convenient handle of attack to his enemies afterwards, and has been made the subject of reproach in a famous military history.[2] The facts shall here

[1] A long story is related by O'Meara (*Voice from St. Helena*, ii. 300-329), on the authority of Cipriani, Bonaparte's maître-d'hôtel, to the effect that Suzzarelli, while pretending to give information to the injury of the Neapolitan government, was in fact an agent of Saliceti, the minister of war, and that Cipriani, then called Franchesci, was employed in assisting him to deceive Colonel Lowe. O'Meara's statement is full of errors in dates and facts. But, as has been well observed in the 'Quarterly Review' (No. LV., p. 230), "Suppose the whole story had been true, what would it amount to?—that Suzzarelli was a double spy, and took money and gave information on both sides." The English were not, however, such dupes in this matter as O'Meara and others have described them. Colonel Lowe told Mr. Elliot in August, 1806, that he was "long acquainted with Suzzarelli's character:" that, not wishing to keep him at Capri, he had allowed him to return to Naples, "as his project involved no risk or expense to any one but himself."

[2] Napier's 'History of the Peninsular War,' vol. ii. 56. He says that it was at Capri "Sir Hudson Lowe first became known to history, by losing in a few days a post that, without any pretensions to celebrity, might have been defended for as many years." We cannot be surprised

be shortly told, and the public can then judge for themselves.

In August Murat took possession of his kingdom, and soon after his arrival at Naples he determined to recover if possible the island of Capri. Sir John Stuart had deemed it necessary to strengthen the garrison; but the only corps selected for that purpose was the Royal Malta regiment, which was then in a bad state of discipline. To this regiment, under the command of Major Hammill, the defence of Ana Capri (a part of the island with a fort of the same name to the west of the town of Capri, and separated from it by a valley or ravine) was intrusted, and the three companies of Corsican Rangers which had previously occupied that post were withdrawn. The total number of troops in Capri amounted to 1362, and, with the exception of a small detachment of artillery (not exceeding nine men) and some officers, the whole of these were foreigners.

The island of Capri[1] is three miles and a half long and about two miles in breadth at its broadest point, and it contained at this time 4000 inhabitants. The coast, except in a few places, is an inaccessible rock. Ana Capri stands on an elevated platform of rock which on the Capri side can only be ascended by a flight of more than five hundred steps, cut out of the stone. The few landing-places in Ana Capri are bad. The eastern extremity of Capri forms a strong position,

that Napoleon made this the subject of a sarcasm. One of his suite at St. Helena having remarked that "Sir Hudson Lowe could not forget Capri, where, with *two thousand* men and *thirty* pieces of cannon, mounted in the clouds, he was taken by *twelve hundred* French, commanded by the brave Lamarque, *who could only reach* him by the help of a *triple escalade*," Napoleon observed, "Well, Sir Lowe shows himself a better jailer than a good general."—Count Las Cases' Journal (Nov. 15, 1816).

[1] Capri is the ancient Capreæ, famous, or rather infamous, as the retreat of the Roman Emperor Tiberius.

the land-front being secured on the right by perpendicular rocks, on the left by a rocky height on which is the castle, and in the centre by the city, the houses of which, being connected, form a continuous wall. The castle, which is on a commanding situation, could make a good defence against musketry, but not against cannon; nor could this be remedied without rebuilding it from the foundation. In a letter written at the time by Colonel Lowe he said he considered 2190 men to be necessary for the defence of the island, and he had less than two-thirds of that number with him.

Early on the 4th of October 1807 the enemy's flotilla was seen steering for the island from Naples. Soon afterwards another division of vessels with troops, escorted by gun-boats, approached the back of the island from the direction of Salerno. The French expedition was commanded by General Lamarque, an officer of high reputation, and he had about three thousand troops under his command.

Supposing that the town of Capri was the enemy's first object, Colonel Lowe sent two companies of the Maltese regiment to assist the Corsican Rangers in defending the Marina Grande and adjacent places. The attempt of the enemy was repelled, and about noon they abandoned their design of attacking the Marina; and the principal division proceeded to the westward of Palazzo di Mare. The Maltese companies were consequently ordered to join their regiment in Ana Capri. The main hope of repelling the enemy consisted in preventing him from landing, and Colonel Lowe had felt confident that the Maltese regiment was fully capable of doing this; but in fact little if any opposition was offered by that regiment to the disembarkation. Nearly two thousand troops were landed at Ana Capri; and notwithstand-

ing the most strenuous efforts on the part of Major Hammill to encourage his men, the Maltese regiment gave way on the left, and dispersed themselves among the vineyards, while others had taken shelter from the fire of the gun-boats behind the stone walls which covered part of their position. The three companies of Corsican Rangers under Captain Church,[1] assisted by some companies of the Maltese, gallantly repulsed the enemy on the right, with great loss, in four successive attempts to advance; but in the evening, being reinforced by eight hundred men, the French compelled the Corsican troops to retreat, and General Lamarque took possession of Ana Capri, and made prisoners the whole of the Maltese regiment which had acted with such pusillanimity.

Next morning a flag of truce brought a summons from General Lamarque to Colonel Lowe to surrender the forts and batteries of Capri. He said,—

"I hold a commanding position, and as soon as my artillery shall be placed I will destroy Capri, and it will be no longer time to negotiate. At this moment I may treat you with less severity."

To this Colonel Lowe gallantly replied,—

"I acknowledge all the advantages which your present commanding positions afford you. Defence may therefore be more difficult, but it is not the less incumbent on me. Your propositions of rigour or favour on such an occasion must be alike indifferent to an officer whose conduct will never be influenced by any other considerations than those of his duty."

A close siege now commenced, the details of which are minutely recorded in a journal of Sir Hudson Lowe. Here we can only state that Capri was vigor-

[1] Afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Richard Church, C.B., G.C.H.

ously attacked and bravely defended until it became evident that its commander could expect no reinforcements, and all hope of effectual naval aid from the British squadron had vanished.[1]

By the morning of the 15th the enemy had made a practicable breach, and, though every effort was used to fill it up, the rottenness of the materials and the rapidity of their fire rendered the task impossible. The besieged then attempted to raise a palisading behind, and an entrenchment above the breach, which was all that could be done, the tower to the right of it having been so much battered as to be in danger of falling. Meanwhile the French sharpshooters had established themselves so close beneath the walls as to enfilade all the salient parts. The enemy had succeeded in placing a field-piece in the Governor's house within thirty paces of the walls, with which they kept up a fire, and the cannon of the besieged had been rendered unserviceable by the enemy's shot. Shortly before noon the French flotilla approached the Campanella Point. At six in the evening General Lamarque sent a flag of truce, bearing a summons to surrender, with an intimation that the General wished to have a personal interview with the English Commandant. Upon this Colonel Lowe arranged that hostilities should cease during the night, and agreed to confer with General Lamarque at his advanced post the next morning.

Accordingly, early on the 16th, Colonel Lowe proceeded to meet the General. The latter demanded the immediate surrender of the place, and that the garrison should become prisoners of war, except only Colonel Lowe himself and five or six of his officers,

[1] A fuller account of the siege will be found amongst the Letters and Documents at the end of the volume.

whom he would allow to return to Sicily. He expressed his astonishment that they had not quitted the island instead of persisting in maintaining a post which was not tenable against cannon. Colonel Lowe replied that no distinction could be allowed between the troops and their commander or officers, and that the term "prisoners of war" would not be admitted into any convention that might be framed. General Lamarque then proposed several modifications; but Colonel Lowe positively refused to accept of any other conditions than to evacuate his post with arms and baggage, and after his return to the town he drew up proposals for surrendering the island, and forwarded them to General Lamarque, who ultimately, and after some hesitation and difficulty, accepted them.[1] On the 20th Colonel Lowe evacuated the town with his troops, and marched to the Marina, the place of embarkation, with all the honours of war.

It deserves to be mentioned, that, when General Lamarque required the restitution of several of the foreigners who had enlisted in the British service while prisoners of war, Colonel Lowe peremptorily refused. "You may shoot me, but I will never give up a single man," was his spirited reply to the General's demand.

For the defence of the town of Capri the highest praise was bestowed upon its commander. After the fall of Ana Capri, and the loss of nearly six hundred out of less than fourteen hundred men, the surrender of the other part of the island, unless the enemy's supplies could be cut off, and the garrison received reinforcements, seemed inevitable. With respect to Ana

[1] See the official report of the capture of Capri at the end of the volume, where some flattering letters addressed to Colonel Lowe with reference to his conduct on that occasion are given.

Capri, Colonel Lowe had felt confident that the Maltese regiment would have repelled the landing of the enemy there as completely as he had repulsed their disembarkation at the town of Capri. In this expectation he was deceived; and when enabled by the defeat of the enemy at Capri to proceed in person to Ana Capri, he learned to his surprise that it had not only fallen, but that the greater part of the Maltese regiment were prisoners. To recover that position was utterly impossible; all that remained was to maintain his ground in Capri, but this was prevented by the want of all aid from the English squadron, by which he had hoped that the island would be completely blockaded, and the enemy cut off from supplies. In this he was disappointed; and when he drew up in a summary form fourteen causes to which he attributed the loss of Capri, amongst them he reckoned as the principal, the want of vessels of war, the proceedings of the British ships when they did arrive, and the conduct of the Maltese regiment.

Major-General Lord Forbes wrote to him and said, "I am convinced that Sir John Stuart will take an early opportunity of expressing to you, as well as to the public, the sense he entertains of the unremitting zeal, ability, and judgment which your conduct has displayed under your late trying circumstances at Capri; and I have only to lament that your exertions, and those of the brave officers and men who supported you, have not been as successful as they are honourable to you and to them."

Some time after Colonel Lowe arrived in Sicily he felt much annoyed that his official report of the fall of Capri was not published in the 'London Gazette,' and, thinking that his professional reputation was at stake, he applied for leave to go to England to vindicate

himself from any imputation that might be attached to his character for the loss of the place. Indeed, at the time, owing to this circumstance and the unpleasant deportment of Sir John Stuart towards him, he seriously contemplated retiring altogether from the army.

Sir John Stuart expressed "surprise at his wish to leave his regiment at the present moment"—alluding to its being about to form part of an expedition to the Bay of Naples; but he said he should not oppose his desire if he considered that it was consistent with his professional duty to urge it. In reply, on the 14th of May, 1809, Colonel Lowe said that the peculiar circumstances of the moment induced him to suspend his application for leave of absence, and to make a sacrifice of his private feelings on such an occasion. He therefore remained in Sicily with the army.

In June the expedition alluded to sailed from Sicily for the Bay of Naples, the troops under the command of Sir John Stuart, and the squadron under that of Rear-Admiral Martin; its object was to form a diversion in favour of our Austrian allies, by menacing the kingdom and capital of Naples. Fifteen thousand men were embarked, including the Corsican Rangers, under Colonel Lowe; and on the 24th the troops landed at Ischia, and Colonel Lowe did excellent service with his riflemen. The town was rapidly taken, and on the 30th the castle of Ischia surrendered, under a convention agreed upon between the French Commandant, and Colonels Lowe and St. Laurent on the part of the British authorities.

The Corsican Rangers returned to Sicily, and in September formed part of an expedition under the command of Brigadier-General Oswald, to drive the French from the islands of Cephalonia, Zante, Ithaca, and Cerigo. The ships anchored before the town of

Zante on the 1st of October; and the next morning the first division of the troops, under the immediate orders of Colonel Lowe, effected a disembarkation, and turned the defence of the town by cutting off its communication with the castle. The other division, under General Oswald, advanced towards the castle, and the enemy then accepted the terms which Colonel Lowe was directed to offer them, and surrendered the island. Cephalonia was next attacked, and submitted immediately. "I have," said General Oswald, in his despatch announcing its capture, "nominated Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe to the important duty of commanding this island, certain that so delicate a trust could not be reposed in more able hands." Ithaca yielded on the 8th to a detachment under Captain Church, and Cerigo was taken a few days afterwards. The expediency of reducing the island of Santa Maura, which contained a strong garrison and was likely to become the rendezvous of a large force, strongly impressed itself upon Colonel Lowe's mind. His reasons convinced General Oswald, and it was determined to make the attempt. On the 21st of March, 1810, troops were embarked in a squadron under the command of Captain (afterwards Vice-Admiral Sir George) Eyre. The proceedings of the expedition are minutely detailed in a letter written by Colonel Lowe at the time, but it will be enough to quote General Oswald's despatch of the 24th of March, in which he says, "Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe commanded the advance, a portion of which (Greek light infantry under Major Church) was kept upon the flank, and drove a party of Albanians from the adjacent heights. The town was found to be evacuated. . . . The enemy's flight was accelerated by a previously concerted and extremely well-executed move-

140794

ment of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe with the rifles of his corps, supported by a company of the 35th and two companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers. The party, headed by the Lieutenant-Colonel, pushed along the narrow and perfectly exposed causeway which connects the town with the fortress. This unexpected advance led upon the enemy's rear, and contributed to his so quickly abandoning the strong redoubts, which a front attack alone could with difficulty effect." The fortress of Santa Maura held out until the 16th of April, when it was agreed that the garrison should evacuate it with the honours of war, and be sent, as prisoners, to some British port, but that the officers should be allowed to return to Italy on their parole not to serve until exchanged. Santa Maura was made the presidency of a government comprising the islands of Cephalonia and Ithaca, which was intrusted to Colonel Lowe. In a circular letter announcing the appointment, General Oswald said he was confident "that it would be most grateful to the Government and population of Cephalonia and Ithaca to know that they would still enjoy the benefits arising from the civil administration of an officer who had shown himself the common father of all ranks and classes of their communities."

Colonel Lowe framed the provisional government, and presided over the civil as well as military administration of these islands for nearly two years, without ever claiming or receiving any remuneration for the extraordinary duties with which he was charged. Those duties were of a difficult nature, requiring temper, firmness, and administrative talents.

He was also frequently engaged in correspondence with the Turkish authorities on the coast of Albania and with the British Resident at Yanina. Sir John

Stuart placed him in direct communication with Ali Pasha, with whom he had a personal interview, and received an offer from him to land thirty thousand Albanians in Italy, to effect a diversion for the purpose of preventing the invasion of Sicily by Murat.

On the 1st of January, 1812, Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe obtained the rank of full Colonel, and in the following month was permitted to return to England on leave of absence. "I was then," he says, "in my twenty-fourth year of service, and had never been absent a single day from my public duty since the commencement of the war in 1793. I had been in England only once during that time, and then only for a period of six months during the peace of Amiens."

On the 9th of January, 1813, he was summoned to attend Lord Bathurst, then Secretary of State for the War Department, and directed to proceed without delay to the north of Europe, to inspect a corps of troops called the "Russian-German Legion," which had been raised by the authority of the Emperor Alexander, and was composed of Germans who had deserted or been taken prisoners during the retreat of the French Army from Russia. At the same time Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Alexander Hope was about to proceed to Sweden to conduct a negotiation, with the object of inducing the Crown Prince, Bernadotte, to co-operate with the Allied Powers, by the offer of a large subsidy and of compelling Denmark to cede Norway to Sweden.

It was intended to place the Russian-German Legion under the command of Bernadotte, and a subsidy had been asked from this country for its support. But before this demand was complied with, the British Government desired to ascertain the state and condi-

tion of the corps; and the task of obtaining this information was intrusted to Colonel Lowe.

After a stormy passage Sir Alexander Hope and Colonel Lowe arrived at Stockholm on the 11th of February. They had interviews with the King and Queen and the Crown Prince of Sweden, and met there Madame de Staël, a lady more celebrated than Bernadotte himself. Colonel Lowe thus describes in a letter both these remarkable persons:—"We were invited to an evening party at her house after dining with the Prince Royal, and had the pleasure of dining with her yesterday. Bonaparte's attempt against Russia she treated with complete contempt; addressing herself principally to the Colonel of the Guards, who was the person sent to relieve the French officers who had been captured on the retreat from Moscow. A little theatre was formed in the house, and Madame de Staël, with her daughter, an extremely interesting girl in her sixteenth year, went through some of the finest scenes in Racine's tragedy of 'Iphigénie.' An old French officer who was present told me she surpassed Mademoiselle Clairon. After the tragic performance she, with her daughter, went through a lively piece of her own composition with infinite spirit, and her daughter performed a very graceful dance. The Prince Royal entered soon, darting a glance at the company as he saw them collected in groups at small tables in the different rooms, and then glided away unperceived. I have never seen so remarkable a countenance as that of Bernadotte: an acquiline nose of most extraordinary dimension, eyes full of fire, a penetrating look, with a countenance darker than that of any Spaniard, and hair so black that the portrait-painters can find no tint dark enough to give its right hue; it forms a vast bushy protuberance round

his head, and he takes great pains, I understand, to have it arranged in proper form."

Pursuant to instructions from Lord Cathcart, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Colonel Lowe proceeded to join him at the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander at Kalisch in Poland, and in passing from Memel to Königsberg he crossed the river Niemen upon the same raft on which the memorable conference was held between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander, after the battles of Eylau and Finland.

He had an interview with the Emperor, and found that the corps of which he was in pursuit was between Narva and Königsberg, scattered over an extent of more than five hundred miles. After performing the duty of inspection he had the opportunity of being an eye-witness of the hard-fought battle of Bautzen, on the 20th and 21st of May. He there for the first time saw Napoleon, his future prisoner—but then in the plenitude of his power, and at the head of an immense and devoted army. The passage from his letter to Lord Bathurst in which he describes his view of the extraordinary man with whose fate his own was afterwards so strangely linked, is full of interest. "Between the town of Bautzen and the position taken up by the combined armies is a long elevated ridge, which descends rather abruptly towards the town, but inclined in a gradual slope towards the position. This ground had been yielded up on the preceding day, together with that which the advanced guard had occupied near the town of Bautzen and on the banks of the Spree. In the morning a body of the enemy's troops was observed to be formed on its crest. Immediately in their front a small group was collected, which by aid of spy-glasses was soon discovered

to be composed of persons of consequence in the enemy's army, amongst whom was most clearly distinguishable Napoleon Bonaparte himself. He advanced about forty or fifty paces in front of the others, accompanied only by one of his Marshals (conjectured to have been Eugene Beauharnois), with whom he remained in conversation, walking backwards and forwards (having dismounted), for nearly an hour. I was on an advanced battery in front of our position and had a most distinct view of him. He was dressed in a plain uniform coat and a star, with a plain hat, different from that of his Marshals and Generals, which were feathered; his air and manner so perfectly resembling the portraits given of him, that there was no possibility of mistake. He appeared to be conversing with the person near him, as on some indifferent subject, very rarely looking towards our position, of which, however, the situation in which he stood commanded a most comprehensive and distinct view."

In July he received instructions to inspect the whole of the levies in British pay in the north of Germany, amounting to nearly 20,000 men. For this laborious duty he never received the slightest pecuniary remuneration. In October, through the favourable opinion of Sir Charles Stuart, he was attached to the allied Russian and Prussian army under the command of General Blücher, and was with him in every action in which he was engaged from the battles of Möckern and Leipsic until the surrender of Paris. Of the battle of Leipsic—the great *Völkerschlacht*, or Battle of the Nations, as it is called by the Germans—he wrote a long and able account, but it is unnecessary here to describe events which have been so often and so fully related.

After the battle Blücher was employed in pursuing the fugitives. Colonel Lowe accompanied him, and he gives the following picture of the retreat of the French army:—"For an extent of nearly fifty miles from Eisenach to Fulda, carcases of dead and dying horses without number; dead bodies of men, who had been either killed or perished through hunger, sickness, and fatigue, lying in the roads and ditches; parties of prisoners and stragglers brought in by the Cossacks; blown-up or destroyed ammunition waggons, in such numbers as absolutely to obstruct the road, sufficiently attested the sufferings of the enemy; while pillaged and burning towns and villages marked at the same time the ferocity with which he had conducted himself."

Colonel Lowe remained with Field Marshal Blücher's army until the beginning of November, when he returned to his duties in the north of Germany. Soon after this temporary removal from the Prussian forces he received a gratifying letter from General Gneisenau, in which he said,—"It is with much regret that I have learnt that you have quitted our quarter-general. Your honourable behaviour and good conduct have gained all our hearts. You have shared our hopes and our fears, and you have enjoyed with us our victory and triumph. Such events ought to link together for ever those who serve with an entire devotion the same cause. Be assured, then, of our esteem and our attachment, and especially of my own."

Towards the close of the year 1813 Colonel Lowe was ordered by the War Office to repair to Holland, for the purpose of organizing the levies about to be raised of Dutch troops, which were intended to serve with the army of Sir Thomas Graham; but his desti-

nation was changed, apparently at his own request; and on Blücher's army crossing the Rhine, he was directed to join it immediately. He reached the Prussian head-quarters, at Vaucouleurs, on the 24th of January, about a week before the first engagement of the campaign, and from that moment until the capture of Paris never quitted the Prussian army. He was present at the battles or general actions of Brienne, La Rothière, Champaubert, Méry, Craone, Laon, Ferre Champenoise, and Paris; forming in all, including Bautzen, Wurschen, Möckern, and Leipsic, thirteen actions, in eleven of which the enemy's army was commanded by Napoleon in person. During these campaigns, "I had," he says, "my full share of military responsibility, besides being exposed to all the ordinary dangers of war; having been constantly near the person of Marshal Blücher, present on one occasion where he was wounded, on another where his Cossack orderly was shot by his side, and on two others where he narrowly escaped being made prisoner, being obliged to make a run for it with the whole of his retinue through a party of the enemy, Bonaparte having been nearly taken by him in the same way and on the same day." He was privy to many important deliberations, in which, as the only British officer of any rank employed with Blücher's army, he was able to offer suggestions upon measures influencing the fate of the war, particularly during the time of the conferences at Châtillon. He strongly and eagerly advised the march against the French capital, as the only means by which the power of Bonaparte could be overthrown, and a solid peace obtained. In the mean time he made many able reports to Sir Charles Stewart (now Marquis of Londonderry), upwards of twenty of which were immediately published in the

'London Gazette.' The history of the campaign is, however, too well known to render it necessary to reprint them in the present work.

When the capital of France was entered by the allied army, Colonel Lowe brought the news of Napoleon's abdication to England, being the English officer who first conveyed the important intelligence direct from Paris to London.

He arrived at the Foreign Office in the night of the 9th of April, and the intelligence of which he was the bearer was announced in a supplement to the 'London Gazette Extraordinary' of that day. He was immediately knighted by the Prince Regent; the Prussian Order of Military Merit was conferred upon him in April; and he received soon afterwards the Order of Saint George from the Emperor of Russia. These marks of honour were accompanied by very gratifying letters.

In the brevet of the 4th of June Sir Hudson Lowe obtained the rank of Major-General, and he was soon after again called into active service, for when the allied armies retired from France he was appointed Quartermaster-General to the British troops in the Low Countries, commanded by the Prince of Orange. In that capacity he visited all the fortresses along the Belgic frontier, and recommended their being restored. He also inspected the fortresses which lay along the line of frontier occupied by the Prussian army. Among other plans which he proposed, he suggested the construction of a work at *Mont St. Jean* (close to Waterloo), it being the commanding point at the junction of the two principal *chaussées* leading direct from the French frontier on the side of Charleroi and Namur to Brussels, and the line of direction in which an enemy must move if Belgium were invaded. In November

he received a letter from General Count Gneisenau, in which that distinguished officer[1] spoke in the most flattering terms of his character and services, saying,—

"It is with the greatest satisfaction, my very dear and very honoured General, that I have received your letter of the 15th of September, which tells me that you have still preserved the remembrance of a man who is infinitely attached to you, and who in the course of a memorable campaign, if there ever were one, has learnt to appreciate your rare military talents, your profound judgment on the great operations of war, and your imperturbable *sang froid* in the day of battle. These rare qualities and your honourable character will link me to you eternally. You may always pride yourself, General, on having belonged to the small number of those who opposed to timid counsels a firmness not to be shaken by the reverses we sustained; and you have never departed from the conviction that to bring Europe back to a just and equitable equilibrium, and to overthrow the government of Imperial Jacobinism, its capital ought to be seized. Without that there is no safety. Happily the event

[1] The character of this officer, who was the warm friend of Sir Hudson Lowe, is thus described by Sir Archibald Alison:—"What was wanting in prudence and circumspection for the ordinary duties of a General in the Commander-in-Chief [General Blücher] was amply compensated by the admirable talents and scientific acquirements of his chief of the staff, GENERAL GNEISENAU. This able man, though much younger than Blücher, was endowed with all the foresight, accuracy, and comprehensive views which are in the long run indispensable for the successful conduct of a great army. . . . Thoroughly acquainted with the seat of war, a perfect master of strategy, and invariably accurate in his estimate of distances and the march of troops, he infused a degree of correctness and precision into the movements of the army of Silesia, which enabled it to inflict the most terrible blows upon the enemy without sustaining any serious losses itself. Europe was astonished at the admirable skill with which, during that whole compaign, the movements of this important army were conducted."—*History of Europe*, vol. ix. p. 398 (second edit.).

has justified your calculations. . . . . Your appointment, my dear General, must place you in continual relation with the Duke of Wellington. You would oblige me infinitely by being the medium of presenting to that hero the sentiments of respectful homage which I feel for him. By the circumspection with which he conducted the war in the Peninsula he prepared and led to that state of things which enabled Europe to emancipate herself; and it was after his fine campaign against Massena that they began in Russia to believe in the possibility of resistance, and commenced making preparations for it. Grateful posterity will count the Duke of Wellington among the benefactors of the human race."

On the 8th of January, 1815, Field Marshal Blücher wrote to him and said,—

"Your letter, my dear General, I have duly received, and I feel very much obliged to you for the sentiments you have therein expressed towards me. The recollection of a man whom, during so very memorable an epoch as the last campaign, we have learnt to esteem and respect, remains dear to us, and will be ever dearly valued through life. On such grounds you may rely with confidence on the continuance of my attachment and friendship. I wish you joy from my heart on the important post which the Prince Regent, in his confidence, has bestowed upon you,—and I rejoice that the choice has fallen upon a man so perfectly equal to fulfil the duties of it in its whole extent."

The news of Napoleon's return from Elba reached Brussels early in March, and Sir Hudson Lowe's situation at once became one of much importance. He exerted himself vigorously to induce the Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian corps between the Rhine and the

Meuse to cross the latter river, and act in concert with the British troops in the defence of Belgium, which he plainly saw would be the battle-field on which the destiny of Europe would be decided. The Prussian Generals, however, thought that Bonaparte would aim his first blow on the side of Switzerland and Mayence, for, to use the words of General Müffling in a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe,—"If he directed his force against Belgium he would have to give a battle, the issue of which would always be uncertain; he would be distant from Italy; he would lay open that part of France which is not covered by fortresses to German and Austrian invasion; he would lose Switzerland. These reasons are strong enough to induce the retention of a position which enables General Count Kleist to direct his force as well on Mayence as on Brussels."

In the beginning of April the Duke of Wellington assumed the command of the allied army, and on the 6th of that month Count de Gneisenau wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe from Aix-la-Chapelle, and said,—

"I salute you, dear and worthy General, our companion in labour, in misfortune, and in glory, in whom, amidst all vicissitudes of fortune, I have recognised an imperturbable character and a profound judgment, and always known of a counsel opposed to that of pusillanimity and feeble minds. I am happy to know that you are in our neighbourhood, and, since the perturber of the human race wills it, let us again trust ourselves to the issue of arms and the chance of war. In me you will always find, worthy General, my accustomed frankness, and my attachment to you personally, and my partiality for your estimable nation. The arrival of the great Duke has tranquillised me as to what will be done on your part. Respect for his

glory will silence all secondary views, and he will conduct the various interests with that wisdom and calmness which we know to belong to him. The movements which we in this quarter will be disposed to make will depend on the views which the Duke of Wellington will have conceived from that knowledge of circumstances which he will have acquired after arriving at Brussels. He may count on the co-operation of the Prussian army in all that he judges useful to our cause."

Shortly afterwards the same officer wrote again, and spoke in no very respectful terms of the Vienna Congress:—"Our force," he said, "without comprising the corps of Saxons which will belong to the King of Saxony, amounts to 153,000 fighting men. We are ready to take the field as soon as we receive orders; but I fear that the cursed Congress will deliberate until our enemies are in a condition to enter the lists with us."

Sir H. Lowe remained only a few weeks under the immediate orders of the Duke of Wellington, for early in May he was offered the command of the British troops at Genoa, intended to act with the Austro-Sardinian army and the squadron under Admiral Lord Exmouth in the south of France. He did not for a moment hesitate about accepting this distinguished post; but he felt unwilling to leave the Duke without his entire approbation, and, having waited upon his Grace, he communicated the result of the interview to Sir Henry Bunbury (Under Secretary of State for the War Department) in a letter, where he mentions the characteristic mode in which the great Chief, whom we have so recently lost, expressed himself on the subject of his Quartermaster-General quitting him at this juncture:—"He (the Duke)

observed that Colonel Sir William De Lancy might be expected to arrive here in a day or two, but that he knew not how soon he might be rendered *au fait* of the duties of the department; that Sir George Murray (who was then on his return from Canada) had been with him for six years, and that he was accustomed to him, *but that he did a good deal of his own business, and could do business with any one.* He said it was a case in which I must judge for myself."

The result was that Sir Hudson remained at his post with the army in Belgium until the beginning of June, and before he left it he received a friendly letter from Sir Henry (now Viscount) Hardinge, dated "Liege, April 22, 1815," in which he said,—

"I have many acknowledgments to make for the letter you were so good as to write to me, and many more to repeat for the kindness of your introduction to this head-quarters, which has obtained me many personal attentions. I should fail in doing your friends here justice were I to deny myself the pleasure of assuring you of their esteem and attachment, which they profess too earnestly and frankly not to make it very acceptable for its sincerity. The Dutch insinuation that our eyes were directed to our shipping was distinctly denied in Lord Wellington's letter to General Gneisenau, in which he said that the present position of the Prussians on the Meuse and Sambre would induce him in any operations to make common cause. Among other officers who hear reports without having access to official information I have used your hint usefully; and I beg as the greatest favour you can confer on me that at any leisure you can spare you will do me the kindness to continue these advices, which, in a new situation which you know so well, are very valuable."

Sir Hudson Lowe's successor as Quartermaster-General of the Duke of Wellington's army was the gallant Sir William De Lancy, who fell at Waterloo, and whose sister he afterwards married. On his route to Geneva he passed through the Imperial head-quarters at Heidelberg, where he met Field Marshal Blücher, and had an audience of the Emperor Alexander, after which he had an interview with Prince Schwartzenberg.

In a letter to Sir Henry Bunbury, dated June 10, he thus describes his conversation with Alexander:—

"The Emperor received me in his cabinet, quite alone, and, having taken me by the hand, said he was glad to see me, but that it must appear an unexpected situation to meet in, after what had passed before; that it was an unfortunate and very much to be lamented occurrence that had compelled him again to come forward; that oceans of blood might be again spilt, but that, whilst that man (Bonaparte) lived, there would be no hope of repose in Europe; that armies must be kept up by every nation on a war footing, and that, in such case, it was better to be at war, and perhaps, in the end, much less expensive; that, in short, there appeared no other alternative than in pursuing the business with vigour, and bringing it thus to the speedier close. The Emperor spoke in English, and the above are, nearly as I can recollect, his very words. He asked me then several questions about the force and condition of our army in Belgium; the state of the Prussian army; my own destination; the description of force I should have at Genoa; the means of employing it, &c.: to all of which I answered as satisfactorily as I could; but I thought he appeared both surprised and gratified at hearing the numerical strength of the force under the

Duke of Wellington, conceiving he had not more than 60,000 men disposable, whereas I assured him the British and Hanoverian force alone exceeded that number; that, including the Dutch, and Belgians, and Brunswickers, there were upwards of 100,000 men, of whom 90,000 might be regarded as quite disposable."

Sir Hudson Lowe arrived at Genoa on the 17th of June, and assumed the command of the troops on the 19th. It was not until the 2nd of July that Lord Exmouth's squadron appeared off that port, and no time was then lost in embarking troops for Marseilles, which city and all the towns on the coast, except Toulon and Antibes, had hoisted the white flag. He sailed in the Boyne with Lord Exmouth on the 4th, and on the 9th was off Toulon, where the tricolor was still flying, and shots were fired from the batteries at the English squadron. The next day they anchored at Marseilles, and the Major-General and his staff landed on the 11th, but the whole of the troops were not disembarked until the 15th. The garrison of Toulon was commanded by Marshal Brune, and Murat was then in the town.

The chief military and civil authority in this part of France was at the time vested in the Marquis de la Rivière, and with him Marshal Brune opened a negociation, but the varying nature of the hopes and fears of the Bonapartists is strikingly shown in the following passage of a letter from Sir Hudson Lowe to Lord Exmouth:—

"Brune, on the very day he was writing to the Marquis and trying to get a promise of his property being sacred, was parading the streets and addressing the soldiers with cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' 'La patrie est sauvée!'"

The Admiral wrote to the General the day before with the bluntness of a sailor,—

"As it appears to be the fashion in France to permit all their gang of rascally Marshals to go quietly out of their country, I will not object to that prince of rogues, Marshal Brune, going, under the white flag, to Tunis. To a *Christian* country I think no man should assume the power of sending him, for no country in its senses ought to receive such fellows."

On the 24th the forts and ships in Toulon hoisted the white flag, and Marshal Brune and the other French Generals and Admirals signed their submission to Louis XVIII. But their minds still wavered, and when an English frigate attempted to enter Toulon a shot was fired at her; and though the Marshal's order of the day directed the French troops to discontinue the use of the tricolor cockade and of the eagles, the Major of the 15th regiment of the line, after reading this order to his men, told them to "put the eagles in their pockets,—they had *slept* once before, and might *awake* again." Lord Exmouth and Sir Hudson Lowe, therefore, who were now at Marseilles, proposed that Toulon should receive a British garrison, under the white flag, and their energetic remonstrances at length caused the departure of Marshal Brune, and the delivery up of the garrison at Toulon to the Marquis de la Rivière.

It was on the 1st of August that Sir Hudson Lowe most unexpectedly received the important information that he was to be intrusted with the custody of Napoleon Bonaparte, and he was ordered to repair immediately to London. Before he left Marseilles the municipality voted to him

a silver urn, in consideration of his "conduite personnelle."[1]

On his arrival at Avignon in his way to Paris he found the place in commotion, and heard that only a few hours before Marshal Brune had fallen a victim to the popular fury. His passport being demanded, he produced one granted by himself, as the person first in authority at Marseilles, and was allowed to depart. As soon as he reached Paris he waited, pursuant to his instructions, upon the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, with whom, as well as with Field-Marshal Blücher, Prince Metternich, Count Pozzo di Borgo, and other eminent persons, he had several communications. Lord Castlereagh asked his opinion of the possibility of Bonaparte making his escape. "I told him at once," says Sir Hudson, "that I saw no other chance of it than that which might result from his exciting a mutiny or disaffection amongst the troops, recollecting two instances of formidable mutinies having occurred at St. Helena, in which several lives were lost, and in both of which the Governor had very narrowly escaped with his own life; but when I was informed what the composition of the garrison was likely to be, I told him that all chance of resource [danger?] from such a cause would, of course, be proportionally diminished, although attempts to tamper with the officers and men I thought it very likely might be made." This was the only occasion in which Sir Hudson Lowe had any conversation with

[1] Lord Exmouth's opinion of the merits of his colleague was cordially expressed. In his despatch describing the submission of Toulon he said, "I cannot close my letter without expressing in the strongest terms the high satisfaction and pleasure I have experienced in serving with Major-General Sir Hudson Lowe, from whose active intelligent mind the service has derived every advantage."—*Gazette*, August 12, 1815.

Lord Castlereagh, to whom it has been represented that he was entirely devoted.

Upon his arrival in England he was placed in direct communication with many of the Cabinet Ministers respecting the duty upon which he was to be employed, and received an assurance in Lord Liverpool's name, that if he undertook the charge of Bonaparte's person, and continued in that charge for three years, "it should not stop there." He was told in the Royal presence, by Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, that "in the execution of the important duty to be confided to him he might rest assured the law would give him its support;" and he had several interviews with the Solicitor-General, Sir Samuel Shepherd, respecting the Acts of Parliament that were to be prepared for the safe custody of Bonaparte.

As the island of St. Helena at that time belonged to the East India Company, the power of appointing the Governor was vested in the Court of Directors; and on the 23rd of August they signified to Sir Hudson Lowe that the Court had nominated him Governor of the island. The local rank of Lieutenant-General with the command of the troops was granted him, and his salary was fixed at twelve thousand pounds per annum.

On the 12th of September Sir Hudson Lowe received his Instructions[1] from Earl Bathurst, the Secretary at War, who, after stating that he enclosed for Sir Hudson's information and guidance a copy of the Memoranda which formed the basis of Sir George Cockburn's Instructions, and that he was to observe them as the general principles by which his conduct was to be regulated, thus continued:—"Many things,

[1] See these *in extenso* at the end of the volume.

however, must be determined by local circumstances; and the experience which I have already had of your judgment and discretion makes me repose this most important trust, without apprehension, in your hands. You will observe that the desire of his Majesty's Government is to allow every indulgence to General Buonaparte which may be compatible with the entire security of his person: that he should not by any means escape, or hold communication with any person whatever (excepting through your agency), must be your unremitted care; and these points being made sure, every resource and amusement which may serve to reconcile Buonaparte to his confinement may be permitted."

On the same day he received a letter from Lord Bathurst respecting Bonaparte's residence and maintenance, in which his Lordship desired Sir Hudson Lowe to inspect the plan of a house proposed to be sent out to St. Helena for Bonaparte, and to give directions for what he thought requisite to be got as furniture, "observing, as a general rule, that, although it was the intention of his Majesty's Government that the apartments occupied by Napoleon Buonaparte should be sufficiently furnished, yet needless expenses were to be avoided carefully, and the furniture should be solid and well chosen, without being profusely ornamental."

"I had," says Sir Hudson Lowe, "an interview with the Solicitor-General, and endeavoured to impress upon him the necessity of such stipulations (in the Act of Parliament to be drawn for the purpose) as might aid me in the discharge of that part of my instructions. His reply to me was very remarkable. He said he considered the danger of any unauthorised communication would be best guarded against by means of sentries. The reply, I say, was remarkable, because

I had not wished to molest Napoleon Bonaparte by placing sentries near his dwelling during the daytime, and because it shows the law-officers of the Crown to whom I was referred had ideas of much greater rigour in the discharge of the duties imposed upon me than those I had professed. I thought, nevertheless, that what I had both said and written on the occasion must have made some impression; but when the Acts of Parliament arrived at St. Helena, I found that, although they provided an effectual punishment for any person who might be accessory to the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte from St. Helena, they took not at all into their consideration the support of the means which were necessary to prevent his escape. Where the technicality of drawing out an Act for the punishment of a crime is considered, without any portion of that forethought which should go hand in hand with it, as to the means of preventing such crime, and of guarding in every way possible against its commission, the natural consequence must be an increased care and responsibility in that person whose vigilance is alone to present a sufficient guard."

On the 10th of January, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe received from Earl Bathurst a despatch informing him that it was the pleasure of the Prince Regent that, upon his arrival at St. Helena, he should communicate to all the followers of Napoleon Bonaparte, including the menial servants, that they were at liberty to leave the island immediately, and to return to Europe or to go to the United States of America, but that none could be permitted to remain at St. Helena, except those who would declare in writing that it was their desire to remain in the island and to abide by the restrictions which it was necessary to impose upon Napoleon Bonaparte personally. And on the 18th Lord Bathurst

wrote and said, "It is only necessary to add that you are to continue to treat Napoleon Bonaparte as a prisoner of war until further orders."

All the arrangements for Sir Hudson Lowe's departure were not completed until the middle of January, 1816, shortly before which time he married Susan, the widow of Colonel William Johnson, and sister of Colonel Sir William Howe De Lancy, K.C.B. On the 23rd of January he was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath; and on the 29th, accompanied by his wife and two step-daughters; by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Reade, C.B., Deputy Adjutant-General; Brevet-Major Gorrequer, Aide-de-camp; Lieutenant-Colonel Lyster, Inspector of Militia; Major Emmett, of the Royal Engineers; Lieutenant Basil Jackson, of the Staff corps;[1] and Mr. Baxter, Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, he sailed from Portsmouth in the Phaëton frigate for St. Helena, which he reached on the 14th of April.

Such was the career of the officer whom the British Government selected for the arduous duty of Governor of St. Helena. And surely enough has been related to show that in his previous history there was everything to justify this mark of confidence. Hitherto, however, his character has been almost wholly in the hands of his enemies, and few men have been pursued with such persevering calumny as Sir Hudson Lowe. He has been made the scapegoat of all the sins which the English nation has been represented as guilty of towards Napoleon Bonaparte. The historian has charged him with meanness and cruelty, and the satirist has turned him into ridicule. He has been

[1] Now Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, Professor of Military Surveying at Addiscombe, to whom the author is indebted for his ready assistance in affording information on various points of interest.

painted as a man whose conduct and language befitted the turnkey of a gaol rather than a British officer intrusted with the execution of a duty of unparalleled delicacy and importance. And even those who have duly estimated the difficulty of his task, and suspected the veracity of his assailants, have been unable to divest themselves of an uneasy consciousness that he might have performed his duty in a more gracious manner. The tone of their defence has been rather that of apology than vindication. And for this I cannot but think that Sir Hudson has himself been in some degree to blame. When we consider the ample materials he possessed for refuting his enemies and putting the libellers to shame, we cannot but marvel that he should have allowed the grave to close over him without having published his defence to the world.

That he was not a master of the art of literary composition will be apparent from a perusal of his letters in the course of this work; but the public would gladly have dispensed with correctness of style and elegance of language, to have been truly informed about facts in which they took so lively an interest.

Sir Walter Scott says, "It would require a strong defence on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe himself, refuting or explaining many things which as yet have neither received contradiction nor commentary, to induce us to consider him as the very rare and highly exalted species of character to whom, as we have already stated, this important charge ought to have been intrusted." After mentioning that Sir Hudson Lowe had received in the course of his military career from several of the allied sovereigns and generals the most honourable testimonies of his services that could be rendered, Sir Walter adds—"But there were other qualifications, and those not less important, his posses-

sion of which could only be known by putting him upon trial. The indispensable attribute, for example, of an imperturbable temper was scarcely to be ascertained until his proceedings in the office intrusted to him should show whether he possessed or wanted it. ..... Knowing nothing of Sir Hudson Lowe personally, and allowing him to possess the qualities of an honourable, and the accomplishments of a well-informed man, we are inclined, from a review of his conduct, divesting it, as far as we can, of the exaggerations of his personal enemies, to think there remain traces of a warm and irritable temper, which seems sometimes to have overborne his discretion, and induced him to forget that his prisoner was in a situation where he ought not, even when his conduct seemed most unreasonable and most provoking, to be considered as an object of resentment, or as being subject, like other men, to retort and retaliation. .... Sir George Cockburn had been *in seipso totus, teres, atque rotundus.* He did what his duty directed, and cared little what Napoleon thought or said upon the subject. The new Governor was vulnerable; he could be rendered angry, and might therefore be taken at advantage."

The language of Sir Archibald Alison, the historian of the long conflict which followed the outbreak of the first French Revolution, is still more unfavourable. He says that "Sir Hudson Lowe, who was appointed to the military command of the island, proved an unhappy selection. His manner was rigid and unaccommodating, and his temper of mind was not such as to soften the distress which the Emperor endured during his detention." And the present Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Campbell, who is hardly less distinguished as an accomplished writer than as a great lawyer, pronounces in his 'Lives of the Lord Chan-

cellors"[1] this damnatory judgment:—"As things were managed, I am afraid it will be said that he (Napoleon) was treated, in the eighteenth century, with the same cruel spirit as the Maid of Orleans was in the fifteenth; and there may be tragedies on the Death of Napoleon, in which Sir Hudson Lowe will be the 'Sbirro;' and even Lord Eldon may be introduced as the *stern old Councillor* who decreed the hero's imprisonment."

Now if this were a question to be decided by authority alone, it would be vain and idle in me to oppose my opinion to that of Scott, Alison, and Lord Campbell. The public would at once pronounce in favour of the judgment of those authors, and they would, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, be justified in so doing. But Sir Walter Scott admits that he was precluded from making inquiry from Sir Hudson Lowe himself, owing to the absence of the latter from Europe at the time he wrote his Life of Napoleon; and he says that it was impossible to obtain impartial evidence on the subject of the long train of minute incidents which form the catalogue of grievances laid to the charge of the late Governor of St. Helena. The statements of Sir Archibald Alison and Lord Campbell rest on no fuller means of knowledge than were possessed by Sir Walter Scott, and it is impossible not to see that all these distinguished writers have been influenced in their opinions by the assertions of authors, the bitterest enemies of Sir Hudson Lowe, who have hitherto occupied the field of narrative with regard to the events at St. Helena. In fact, it could not well be otherwise. No one can rise from the perusal of the works of those authors, and without strong evidence

[1] Vol. vi. p. 321.

believe that there is not some foundation for the charges they contain against Sir Hudson Lowe of peevishness of temper, coarseness of language, and tyranny of conduct. "Where there is so much smoke there must be fire," is too often the saying of the many, contenting themselves with the point of a proverb, even where a man's character is at stake. I know how difficult it is to remove an unfavourable impression which has sunk deep into the minds of men. A kind of prescription is given to falsehood which is allowed to remain long unrefuted; but I greatly deceive myself, if, when the official and authentic documents now for the first time made known in these volumes are perused, and the true version of the history of the Captivity of Napoleon has been dispassionately considered, public opinion will not deliver another verdict and pronounce a different judgment.

But, independently of the evidence which will be adduced in the present work, there are not wanting the testimonies of persons who had good opportunities of forming a correct opinion, and they are strongly in favour of Sir Hudson Lowe. Mr. Henry, a military surgeon, formerly attached to the 66th regiment, which relieved the 53rd at St. Helena, where he remained from July, 1817, until May, 1821, and was consequently for nearly four years resident in the island, has written an interesting book called 'Events of a Military Life,' and he there gives a very different account of some of the incidents of the Captivity from what is to be found in the pages of O'Meara and the French writers.[1] Speaking of the Governor, in one

[1] Mr. Henry had not the means of knowing the extent and malignity of O'Meara's misrepresentations, and yet he shrewdly suspected the truth. Alluding to a remark he had made in the first edition of his book unfavour-

passage he says,[1] "From first impressions I entertained an opinion of him far from favourable; if, therefore, notwithstanding this prepossession, my testimony should incline to the other side, I can truly state that the change took place from the weight of evidence, and in consequence of what came under my own observation in St. Helena. Since that time he has encountered a storm of obloquy and reproach enough to bow any person to the earth; yet I firmly believe that the talent he exerted in unravelling the intricate plotting constantly going on at Longwood, and the firmness in tearing it to pieces, with the unceasing vigilance he displayed in the discharge of his arduous and invidious duties, made him more enemies than any hastiness of temper, uncourteousness of demeanour, or severity in his measures, of which the world was taught to believe him guilty."

And again:[2] "It is extremely probable, and I believe it to be the fact, that Sir Hudson Lowe went to St. Helena determined to conduct himself with courtesy and kindness to Napoleon, and to afford him as many comforts and as much personal freedom as were consistent with his safe custody. I was intimately acquainted with the officer charged with the care of Longwood for nearly three years, and he assured me that the Governor repeatedly desired him to consult the comfort of the great man and his suite; to attend to their suggestions, and to make their residence as agreeable as possible. Two of the orderly

able to Sir Hudson Lowe's character for temper, which rested solely on the authority of O'Meara, the author, in a subsequent edition, says, "he now regrets its publication, as he has the strongest reason for believing that at the time O'Meara had a selfish reason for calumniating the Governor and falsifying the conversations between them on the visits of the former to Plantation House."—Vol. ii. p. 60.

[1] Events of a Military Life, vol. ii. p. 9. [2] Ibid., vol. ii. p. 57.

officers at Longwood, namely, Majors Blakeney and Nicholls of the 66th regiment, have given me the same assurance. I have myself seen courteous notes from Sir Hudson Lowe to these officers, accompanying pheasants and other delicacies sent from Plantation House for Napoleon's table. Even after two unfortunate interviews, when the Emperor worked himself into a rage and used gross and insulting expressions to the Governor, evidently to put him into a passion, but without success (for Sir Hudson maintained perfect self-possession and self-command throughout), even after this open breach the above civilities were not discontinued. Still, when a pheasant, the greatest rarity in the island, appeared on the Governor's table, one was sure to be sent to Longwood."

In a letter to Mr. Henry from Colonel Jackson that officer says,[1]—"Few persons, if any, are better acquainted with Sir Hudson Lowe than myself. When he was Quartermaster-General in the Netherlands in 1814 and 1815, I was a Deputy Assistant in the department and attached to the office, when I was with him every day, and had, indeed, more communication with him than others, and sometimes of a confidential character. I also at that time saw him when certain circumstances gave him much annoyance, but cannot recollect any single instance of his breaking out into any unseemly bursts of anger, or showing real uncourteousness. He was very much liked by all who served under him, being at all times kind, considerate, generous, and hospitable. . . . . I have good reason to believe that towards Napoleon and his suite the Governor's bearing was at all times correct and proper. Except Las Cases, I was intimate with all the individuals of the suite . . . . . especially so with Mon-

[1] This letter is quoted in the 'Events of a Military Life,' vol. ii. p. 59.

tholon (even after his return to Europe) . . . . . and I never heard any of them complain of Sir Hudson Lowe's carriage towards them. . . . . Depend upon it, the reports spread of Sir Hudson Lowe's 'bursts of undignified and reprehensible passion' were wholly without foundation as regards the persons at Longwood, and most grossly exaggerated with reference to his behaviour to ourselves. I have heard Sir George Bingham speak highly of Sir Hudson; your friend General Nicol do the same; and, in fact, most of the officers of rank who were at St. Helena; and I cannot remember to have heard any one complain of Sir Hudson's temper. Like other men, he is liable to the infirmities of our nature; but want of proper self-command has never been one of his defects."

Elsewhere, in another passage, Colonel Jackson says,[1]—"I was honoured with the friendly notice of Sir Hudson Lowe, and enjoyed much of his confidence, during a course of thirty years. I knew him when his military reputation marked him as an officer of the highest promise. I witnessed his able conduct as Governor of St. Helena; I saw him when the malice of his enemies had gained the ascendant, and covered him with unmerited opprobrium; I beheld him on his death-bed; and throughout these various phases in his career I admired and respected his character, while I truly loved the man." Such a tribute would not have been paid to one whose conduct had been that of a tyrannical jailer at St. Helena. It is one of which any man might well be proud.

In a letter written to Sir Hudson Lowe by Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Farquhar, the Governor of the Mauritius, who had stayed for a few days at St.

[1] United Service Magazine.

Helena, on his way to England, in January, 1817, that gentleman said,—"As to your own conduct with regard to Bonaparte, the more I reflect upon it the more I am convinced of its perfect propriety, and that the indulgence, kindness, and consideration with which you treat him, are as much as could be granted conformably to your instructions, and even much more than many persons in your place would be disposed to grant. Your instructions are very concise, but extremely comprehensive. The strict construction of them would, in my opinion, bear you out in a mode of confinement conformably to that which Bonaparte practised on his own state prisoners, instead of those extensive ranges which, from the mildness of your measures, he has unrestrained access to, and which make his seclusion to St. Helena more like the banishment of the ancient nobles of France to the boundaries of their domains than the confinement of a state prisoner." And the late Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry Keating, who, like Sir Robert Farquhar, visited St. Helena on his voyage from the Mauritius, bore similar testimony, saying,—"As long as Sir Hudson Lowe continues Governor I will answer with my head for the safety and secure custody of Bonaparte. Sir Hudson, to great wisdom, perseverance, and judgment, adds the most conciliatory conduct, and a desire that everything consisting with the safety of Bonaparte's person should be most strictly attended to, in the most delicate manner, and with a proper regard to the feelings of the fallen man."

In O'Meara's book Napoleon is represented as constantly recurring to the topic of the indignity put upon him by the selection of so obscure and ignoble a person for the office of Governor. He called him a Sicilian hangman (*boja*) and constable (*sbirro*)—a

gaoler—a leader of brigands and chief of spies (*capo di spioni*)—a captain of vagabond Corsican deserters—a clerk (*scrivano*) to Blücher—a man "who had never commanded, or been accustomed to, men of honour." No epithet seemed too bad to apply to him, and it would appear as if his previous history ought to have disqualified him for so important a trust, and that, knowing this, Napoleon really felt the appointment of such a man to be in itself an injury and an insult. But was the fact so? Did Bonaparte from the first look upon the new Governor as unfitted for the post from the obscurity of his services or the nature of his actions? Nothing of the kind. None of all this apparent indignation was real. Sir Hudson Lowe's reputation and services were well known to Bonaparte before the former arrived at St. Helena, and they were then made the theme of praise, and esteemed a sufficient pledge that he would discharge the duties of his office in a manner agreeable to the feelings of his captives. In a remarkable letter written to the Governor by Las Cases, when on the point of removal from the island in consequence of misconduct, as will be hereafter related, it suited the purpose of the writer to state what were the sentiments with which he and his companions heard of the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe. His object was to contrast their previous expectations with his subsequent conduct, and thus give point to their reproaches; but it is a valuable testimony to the fact that, in the eyes of Napoleon and his suite, there was nothing which rendered Sir Hudson Lowe unfit to be intrusted with the important office of Governor of St. Helena.

Count Las Cases, in a celebrated letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, dated December the 19th, 1816, thus expresses himself:—

"'The eyes of Europe,' we said, 'are fixed upon our rock; and nations will now judge of the conduct of kings: they doubtless will be lavish of proofs of respect and marks of attention, in expiation at least of what they call political necessity. . . . . A man is appointed to take the command here' (you, Sir, were the person alluded to) 'who holds a distinguished rank in the army; he owes his fortune to his personal merit; his life has been passed in diplomatic missions at the head-quarters of the Sovereigns of the Continent, where the name, the rank, the power, the titles of the Emperor Napoleon must have become familiar to him. He will be acquainted with the relations, both public and personal, that existed between the Emperor and those Sovereigns, who for a long time called him brother, who have been his friends and allies, or are his kinsmen. He will know that at Châtillon it depended solely on the Emperor to reign in France with the consent even of England, and that later he might have retained possession of other countries. This man,' we said, 'in his diplomatic career will have formed just notions both with respect to persons and things; he probably laughs himself, now that the object is attained, at the mass of falsehood and libel which fear and policy had invented for the vulgar; and, having been placed in such situations, he would not now accept a mission founded on principles different from those thus established, and having any other object than to better our present condition. His arrival alone is therefore a sufficient pledge of the favourable nature of his instructions with respect to us.' '*Did you not tell me,*' said the Emperor to us one day, '*that he was at Champaubert and at Montmirail? We have then probably exchanged a few cannon-balls together, and that is always, in my eyes, a noble*

relation to stand in.' SUCH WAS THE DISPOSITION IN WHICH SIR HUDSON LOWE WAS EXPECTED."

Now it is no answer to this to say that appearances are deceitful, and that Napoleon afterwards found reason to change his opinion. The question here is not, What was the subsequent conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe?—that will be made sufficiently manifest in the following pages—but, What were Napoleon's expectations? And the passage from Las Cases here cited incontestably proves that they were favourable to Sir Hudson Lowe. It may, indeed, be urged that this makes his subsequent complaints all the more likely to be true, and that they were forced from him by bitter experience that his hopes were not realised, and that the conduct of the new Governor did not answer the promise held out by his appointment. But this is shifting the ground of attack. At present we are dealing only with the question whether Bonaparte felt that he had any just ground for dissatisfaction that the British Government had selected an officer like Sir Hudson Lowe for the arduous and responsible post.

It became afterwards the policy at Longwood to compare him with Sir George Cockburn, always to the disadvantage of the former. And yet we have seen that, while the latter was in command at St. Helena, Bonaparte used to speak of him in the same contemptuous style in which he afterwards spoke of Sir Hudson Lowe. On one occasion he said of the Admiral, "It showed the greatest want of generosity in him to insult the unfortunate, because insulting those who are in your power, and, consequently, cannot make any opposition, is a certain sign of a low and ignoble mind. I, in my misfortune, sought an asylum, and, instead of that, I found ill-treatment,

contempt, and insult." With justice, therefore, might Sir Hudson say—"Thus, then, it is evident that the French retained their ill humour against Sir George Cockburn to the last moment of his government at St. Helena, and that similar complaints were made of him to those which for a much longer period were repeated and accumulated against me. The evidence here offered of these facts, whatever may be its intrinsic worth, is good against the authors of the calumnies with which I have been pursued, because it is the evidence of these authors against themselves."

In reality Bonaparte was pleased at the change of guardianship. On the 22nd of April, 1816, O'Meara wrote to Mr. Finlaison—"The new Governor has arrived here, and has taken the charge of Napoleon out of the hands of Sir George Cockburn, very much to the satisfaction of both Napoleon and Sir George himself;" and in the same letter he says that Bonaparte remarked to him after their first interview—"This new Governor is a man of very few words, but he appears to be a polite man: however, it is only from a man's conduct for some time that you can judge of him." And Colonel Sir George Bingham, who commanded the troops at St. Helena, on being applied to on the subject, wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe and said—

"With respect to the disposition of Napoleon towards you at the time of your arrival, I can distinctly state that it was friendly; for, on seeing the signal that the frigate (which brought you out) was in sight with the new Governor on board, I went to Longwood to give him the intelligence. It was before the usual hour at which he saw any one, and I was shown into his dressing-room before he was dressed; and he was in one of those violent fits of rage he was so frequently subject to, because Gourgaud had ushered in Harrison

as well as myself. He pushed him out of the room, and shut the door in his face. Resuming immediately his placid manner, he asked me to sit down; and, in answer to the communication I made him respecting your arrival, he said, 'I am glad of it; I am tired of the Admiral (Sir George Cockburn), and there are many points I should like to talk over with Sir Hudson Lowe; he is a soldier, and has served; he was with Blücher; besides, he commanded the Corsican regiment, and knows many of my friends and acquaintance.'"

In one respect, no doubt, the choice was an unfortunate one. Almost from the first moment of seeing Sir Hudson Lowe Napoleon conceived a dislike towards him, and this soon ripened into utter aversion. It is not too much to say, that for a long time, if not to the end of his life, he hated him with a perfect hatred. The feeling seems to have been almost an instinctive antipathy, for it displayed itself before the newly-arrived Governor had introduced any change in the regulations, or done anything which could give offence. If we may believe Bonaparte's passionate language, the countenance of Sir Hudson Lowe was repulsive to him; and his manner was not prepossessing, even in the judgment of favourable friends.[1] It is not unlikely that, in the irritable state of mind of the fallen Emperor, a prejudice taken by him against the physiognomy and manner of the Governor may have disposed him to misconstrue his

[1] In a letter to the author from Colonel Jackson the latter says,—"I never heard any of the French say a word against Sir Hudson Lowe's bearing towards them. His orders to his officers were to do all that courtesy and kindness could dictate to render the situation of the French persons as little unpleasant as possible, and, so far as I saw, every desire on their part was promptly attended to. He was himself a man possessing little of what is called *manner*—no man had less of that;—but he was full of kindness, liberality, and consideration for the feelings of others."

conduct, and attribute bad motives to actions which were forced upon him by the plain dictates of duty. But in reality it may well be doubted whether it would have been possible for any one in the situation of Sir Hudson Lowe to have conciliated the good will or confidence of Napoleon. His pretensions to almost uncontrolled freedom of intercourse and exemption from *surveillance* within the island, and the tenacity with which he clung to the Imperial title which the instructions of the Governor positively forbade him to accord, must have brought him constantly into collision with whoever exercised authority over him. From first to last he took a false view of his own position. He did not claim indulgence as a favour, but as a right. He asserted that he ought not to be treated as the prisoner, but as the guest of England; and he described the conduct of the British Government in sending him to the rock of St. Helena as an infamy and an injury for which posterity would avenge his memory. With these incompatible views of the parties as to the nature of their relative situations, it was not possible for them to agree in the expediency or propriety of the measures to be adopted. A curtailment of liberty was looked upon by the one as an act of tyranny, by the other as a measure of necessary precaution. Nor is it a sufficient reply to say that Napoleon found no fault with Sir Pulteney Malcolm, but, on the contrary, regarded and spoke of him always with esteem. It must be remembered that the Admiral was not the Governor of the island. He had no authority over the inmates of Longwood, and was not the instrument whereby the policy of the Allied Powers towards Bonaparte was carried into execution. But if Sir Pulteney had been substituted for Sir Hudson, not

even all *his* fine qualities would have saved him from the dislike of Napoleon, for he would have done his duty as Sir George Cockburn did, and, like Sir George Cockburn, he would have been stigmatised with names of opprobrium.

The truth was told by Count Montholon when he said to Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, who visited him at his château of Frémigny, near Arpajon, in France, after their return to Europe, "*Mon cher ami, an angel from heaven could not have pleased us as Governor of St. Helena.*"

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST INTERVIEW OF SIR HUDSON LOWE WITH BONAPARTE — DIFFICULTY IN GETTING THE FRENCH OFFICERS TO SIGN THE DECLARATION — OTHER INTERVIEWS WITH BONAPARTE — LETTERS OF O'MEARA TO SIR THOMAS READE AND OTHERS.

SIR Hudson Lowe's first official act after taking the oaths was to issue a proclamation confirming all Sir George Cockburn's general orders. He then, on the 16th of April, having on the previous day intimated his intention at Longwood, proceeded there to visit Napoleon. He arrived at nine o'clock in the morning, but was told that Bonaparte was indisposed and could not then receive visitors. The Governor therefore retired, after arranging that Sir George Cockburn and himself should have an interview with Bonaparte the following day, at four o'clock in the afternoon.[1]

The particulars of that interview have been much misrepresented. The following is Sir Hudson Lowe's own account of what took place on the occasion:—

[1] Count Las Cases, in his 'Journal' under date April 16, 1816, thus describes the first attempted interview, misrepresenting motives as usual: "April 16.—The new Governor arrived at Longwood about ten o'clock, notwithstanding the rain, which still continued. He was accompanied by the Admiral, who was to introduce him, and who had, no doubt, told him that this was the most suitable hour for his visit. The Emperor did not receive him: he was indisposed, and, even had he been well, he would not have seen him. The Governor, by this abrupt visit, neglected the usual forms of decorum. It was easy to perceive that this was a trick of the Admiral. The Governor, who probably had no intention to render himself at all disagreeable, appeared very much disconcerted. We laughed in our sleeves. As for the Admiral, he was quite triumphant. The Governor, after long hesitation and very evident marks of ill-humour, took his leave rather abruptly. We doubted not that this visit had been planned by the Admiral with the view of prepossessing us against each other at the very outset."

"Had my first interview with him at four o'clock in the afternoon; was accompanied to his house by Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn. General Bertrand received us in his dining-room, serving as an ante-chamber, and instantly afterwards ushered me into an inner room, where I found him standing, having his hat in his hand. Not addressing me when I came in, but apparently waiting for me to speak to him, I broke silence by saying, 'I am come, Sir, to present my respects to you.' 'You speak French, Sir, I perceive; but you also speak Italian. You once commanded a regiment of Corsicans.'[1] I replied, the language was alike to me. 'We will speak, then, in Italian,' he said; and immediately commenced in that language a conversation which lasted about half an hour, the purport of which was principally as follows: He first asked me where I had served—how I liked the Corsicans—'They carry the stiletto: are they not a bad people?'[2] looking at me very significantly for an answer. My reply was, 'They do not carry the stiletto, having abandoned that custom in our service; they have always conducted themselves with propriety. I was very well satisfied with them.'[3] He asked me if I had not been in Egypt with them; and, on my replying in the affirmative, entered into a long discussion respecting that country. 'Menou was a weak man. If Kleber had been there, you would have been all made prisoners.' He then passed in review all our operations in that country, with which he seemed as well acquainted as if he had him-

[1] "'Je suis venu, Monsieur, pour vous présenter mes devoirs.' B. 'Vous parlez Français, Monsieur, je vois; mais vous parlez aussi Italien. Vous avez commandé un régiment de Corses."

[2] "Portano stiletti: non sono cattivi?"

[3] "Non portano stiletti; hanno perduto quella usanza nel nostro servizio: si conducevano sempre molto bene. Era molto contento di loro."

self been there; blamed Abercromby for not landing sooner, or, if he could not land sooner, not proceeding to another point; Moore, with his 6000 men, should have been all destroyed; they had shown themselves good generals, however, and merited success from their boldness and valour. He asked me if I knew Hutchinson—whether it was the same that had been arrested at Paris. To which a reply was, of course, given in the negative. His question on this point betrayed great interest. The subject of Egypt was again resumed. It was the most important geographical point in the world, and had always been considered so. He had reconnoitred the line of the canal across the Isthmus of Suez; he had calculated the expense of it at ten or twelve millions of livres—'Half a million sterling,'[1] he said, to make me understand more clearly the probable cost of it: that, a powerful colony being established there, it would have been impossible for us to have preserved our empire in India. He then fell again to rallying at Menou; and concluded with the following remark, which he pronounced in a very serious manner:—'In war, the game is always with him who commits the fewest faults.'[2] It struck me as if he was reproaching himself with some great error.

"He then asked me some further questions regarding myself—whether I was not married?—if I had not become so shortly before my leaving England?—how I liked St. Helena? I replied, I had not been a sufficient time here to form a judgment upon it. 'Ah! you have your wife; you are well off!'[3] After a short

[1] "Mezza millione di lire sterline."

[2] "Dans le métier de la guerre, le jeu est toujours à celui qui fait le moins de fautes."

[3] "Ah! avete la vostra moglie; state bene!"

pause he asked how many years I had been in the service? 'Twenty-eight,' I replied. 'I am, therefore, an older soldier than you,'[1] he said. 'Of which history will make mention in a very different manner,'[2] I answered. He smiled, but said nothing. I proceeded immediately afterwards to take my leave, asking permission to present to him two officers of my suite, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer, who had accompanied me, to which he assented. He spoke little to them, but, as we were going away, turned to me and said, 'You are settling your affairs with the Catholics, I see; it is well done. The Pope has made concessions, and smoothed the way to you.' Thus the interview terminated."

As the accounts hitherto given of this interview create the impression that Sir Hudson Lowe had rudely prevented Sir George Cockburn from being present,[3] it is right to quote an extract from the

[1] "Je suis donc plus vieux soldat que vous."

[2] "Dont l'histoire le fera connâitre d'une bien autre manière."

[3] O'Meara says, "The following day Sir Hudson Lowe landed, and was installed as Governor with the customary forms. A message was then sent to Longwood that the new Governor would visit Napoleon at nine o'clock on the following morning. Accordingly, a little before that time Sir Hudson Lowe arrived, in the midst of a pelting storm of rain and wind, accompanied by Sir George Cockburn, and followed by his numerous staff. As the hour fixed upon was rather unreasonable, and one at which Napoleon had never received any person, intimation was given to the Governor on his arrival that Napoleon was indisposed, and could not receive any visitors that morning. This appeared to disconcert Sir Hudson Lowe, who, after pacing up and down before the windows of the drawing-room for a few minutes, demanded at what time on the following day he could be introduced: two o'clock was fixed upon for the interview, at which time he arrived, accompanied as before by the Admiral, and followed by his staff. They were at first ushered into the dining-room, behind which was the saloon where they were to be received. A proposal was made by Sir George Cockburn to Sir Hudson Lowe that the latter should be introduced by him, as being, in his opinion, the most official and proper manner of resigning to him the charge of the prisoner; for which purpose Sir George suggested that they should enter the room together. This was acceded to

Governor's report of the occurrence in his letter to Sir Henry Bunbury, the Under Secretary of State :—

"In order that there might be no mistake respecting the appointment being for Sir George Cockburn as well as myself, I distinctly specified to Bertrand that we should go up together. We went, were received in the outer room by Bertrand, who almost immediately ushered me into Bonaparte's apartment. I had been conversing with him for nearly half an hour, when, on his asking me if I had brought with me the Regent's Speech, I turned round to ask Sir George Cockburn if I had not given it to him, and observed to my surprise that he had not followed me into the room. On going out I found Sir George in the ante-chamber much irritated. He told me that Bertrand had almost shut the door in his face as he

---

by Sir Hudson Lowe. At the door of the drawing-room stood Noverraz, one of the French valets, whose business it was to announce the names of the persons introduced. After waiting a few minutes, the door was opened, and the Governor called for. As soon as the word 'Governor' was pronounced Sir Hudson Lowe started up, and stepped forward so hastily, that he entered the room before Sir George Cockburn was well apprized of it. The door was then closed; and when the Admiral presented himself, the valet, not having heard his name called, told him that he could not enter. Sir Hudson Lowe remained about a quarter of an hour with Napoleon, during which time the conversation was chiefly carried on in Italian, and subsequently the officers of his staff were introduced. The Admiral did not again apply for admission."— *Voice from St. Helena*, vol. i. pp. 27, 28. Count Las Cases says (*Journal*, April 17, 1816) that Napoleon was delighted (*ravi*) with the circumstance. "He burst into a fit of laughter, rubbed his hands, and exhibited the joy of a child—of a schoolboy who had successfully played off a trick on his master. 'Ah! my good Noverraz,' said he, 'you have done a clever thing for once in your life. He had heard me say that I would not see the Admiral again, and he thought he was bound to shut the door in his face. This is delightful.'" Count Montholon, however (*Récits*, vol. i. p. 244) describes Napoleon's conduct very differently, and as having been much more becoming his character:— "The oversight of the valet grieved him (*le peina*); he charged O'Meara to say so to Sir George Cockburn, and even sent one of us to express to him his regret."

was following me into the room; that a servant had put his arm across him. He said he would have forced his way, but that he was expecting I would have turned round to see if he was following me, when he supposed I would have insisted on our entering the room together. I told him I knew nothing of his not being in the same room until Bonaparte asked me for the Regent's Speech; that I had not turned round before, nor would it have ever occurred to me to do so, not having any suspicion of what was passing. Bonaparte was ready to receive him after I had left the room, but he would not go in. Bertrand and Montholon have been with him since, making apologies; but the Admiral, I believe, is still not quite satisfied about it. I mention these particulars for your private information, in the event of anything being said upon them, either in an official or private manner, by the Admiral."[1]

The following is the account which O'Meara gave to Mr. Finlaison of the *contretemps* which had happened; and his letter, which is dated April 22, 1816, contains some interesting matter:—

"Since I wrote to you last the new Governor has arrived here and has taken the charge of Napoleon

[1] Amongst Sir H. Lowe's memoranda is one in which he says, "When Bonaparte was ready to receive me, my name was called, and I inadvertently advanced immediately and entered the room, where Bonaparte was standing. I did not discover, till I turned round, intending to refer to the Admiral, that Sir George Cockburn was not in the room. It appeared afterwards that on his following me he was stopped at the door by Noverraz, Napoleon's Swiss valet. I must acknowledge my error in preceding Sir George Cockburn, who ought to have entered the room first for the purpose of introducing me; but the mistake had taken place before I was aware of it; and when I was sensible of the irregularity it was too late to correct it. . . . . I leave the account of this interview without any other remark than that the result of it was in no degree unsatisfactory, nor the cause of any misunderstanding with Bonaparte."

out of the hands of Sir George Cockburn, very much to the satisfaction of both Napoleon and Sir George himself. It had been agreed between Sir Hudson Lowe and Sir George Cockburn (at the suggestion of the latter)[1] that they should not allow Bonaparte to receive them separately, but that they should go in together in order to remove from him any remains of acting the King. The day after the Governor's arrival, therefore, he, accompanied by Sir George, proceeded to Longwood at about nine o'clock in the morning, having the day before signified their intention of coming. However, Bonaparte was so displeased at the earliness of the hour, and not having been consulted himself as to what time he might like to admit them, that he would not see either the Governor or Admiral, very much to the astonishment of the former; however he sent word that he would be ready to receive him the next day at any time between one and five. Accordingly his Excellency (accompanied by the Admiral) the next day again ascended the hill with his staff, and entered the front room of Longwood; after a few minutes' delay Sir Hudson was called and went in, but, on the Admiral's attempting to follow him, the servant whose office it is to announce stopped him and actually put his hand close to his breast to prevent his entering, telling him at the same time that the Emperor wished to see the Governor alone. The Admiral, though greatly hurt at Sir Hudson Lowe breaking his agreement with him, nevertheless took no further notice of it than quitting the room. Sir Hudson Lowe afterwards endeavoured to explain it away, by saying that he thought the Admiral was at his heels, and that he did not discover his mistake

[1] Opposite to this statement Sir Hudson Lowe has written, in the margin, "*False.*"

until he turned about to call Sir Thomas Reade. This, however (in my opinion), is a very lame excuse, as he certainly ought to have allowed the Admiral to precede him in entering, in order to introduce him officially. Montholon went the next day to the Admiral full of excuses, which I believe to be all lies and [to coincide with ?] his own views and not authorized by Buonaparte, particularly from a conversation which I had with him the same day, in which, after some desultory remarks, he said, 'I believe the Admiral was ill used yesterday when he came up with the new Governor; what does he say about it?' continued he. I replied, 'He certainly conceived it as an insult offered to him, and was greatly offended at it; some explanation, however, has been given to him by General Montholon concerning it.' Buonaparte then said, 'I certainly will never see him with pleasure; but he did not announce himself as being desirous of seeing me.' I replied, 'He wished to introduce officially to you the new Governor, and thought in that capacity it was not necessary to be previously announced.' Buonaparte then said, 'He should have signified to me by Marshal Bertrand that he wanted to see me; but,' continued he, 'he wanted to embroil me with the new Governor, and for that reason persuaded him to come up at nine o'clock in the morning, though he well knew that I never received any persons, and never would, at that hour: he did it out of malice. It is a pity that a man who really has talents, for I believe him to be a very good officer in his service, should have behaved so ill as he has done to me; he had an opportunity of getting a good character by treating me well, but instead of that he has proved [earned?] himself one which will cover him with disgrace to posterity. It will appear

in print yet; it showed the greatest want of generosity in him to insult the unfortunate, because insulting those who are in your power, and consequently cannot make any opposition, is a certain sign of a low and ignoble mind. I, in my misfortune, sought an asylum, and instead of that I found ill-treatment, contempt, and insult. The first he offered me was at his own table in the Northumberland, shortly after I came on board. I did not wish to sit at table for two or three hours, like the English, guzzling down wine to make myself drunk, and therefore got up and walked out upon deck; upon which he said in a contemptuous manner, "I believe the General has never read Lord Chesterfield," meaning that I was deficient in politeness and did not know how to sit at table; upon which Madame Bertrand, who understands English, said to him, "Sir, the greatest sovereigns in Europe have thought it an honour to dine with the Emperor Napoleon." This was a most gross insult to me. I will never see him with pleasure: my communication with him is finished now. If he chose to force his way in sword in hand, he might have done it as I was in his power, but with my own free will I will never see him again. If he wanted to see Lord Keith, or Lord St. Vincent, or Lord Melville, would he not have sent to know at what time they would find it convenient to receive him? and I think that the actions I have performed are at least as well known,' continued he, laughing, 'as any the two first have done, setting aside that I have been a crowned head. He is a madman,' said he then, 'a vulgar man.'[1] I said all I could in the Admiral's excuse, but to no avail; especially after the Lord Chesterfield anecdote, I could say but little, as he asked me, 'What could

[1] "C'est un fou, ... c'est un homme grossier."

that be for but an insult?' 'This new Governor,' said he, 'is a man of very few words, but he appears to be a polite man; however, it is only from a man's conduct for some time that you can judge of him.' General Montholon came in at this moment with a translation of the paper which the domestics who wished to remain with him were to sign. Buonaparte looking at it said, 'Why, this is not French, it is not sense.' 'Sire,' said the other, 'it is a literal translation of the English.' 'However,' said Napoleon, 'it is neither French nor German' (tearing it in two): 'you are a fool.' Then looking at me, said he, 'He makes a translation into stuff which is not French, and is nonsense to be understood by any Frenchman.' He then desired Montholon to go into the next room, when he dictated to him in my hearing the following in place of it. 'We, the undersigned, wishing to continue in the service of H. M. the Emperor Napoleon, consent, horrible as is the abode in St. Helena, to remain here. We submit to the restrictions, though unjust and arbitrary, that are imposed upon H. M. and upon the persons in his service.'[1] 'There,' said he, 'let those who like sign that.' I remembered almost exactly the words, and afterwards obtained a copy of it. I ought to have mentioned first to you that an offer has been made to such of the Generals and domestics as are willing to avail themselves of it to proceed to the Cape, from whence a passage would be found them to England, and that those who were desirous of remaining must sign a paper purporting their intention of staying with Buona-

[1] "Nous soussignés, voulant continuer à rester au service de S. M. l'Empereur Napoléon, consentons, quelqu'affreux que soit le séjour de Ste. Hélène, à y rester. Nous nous soumettrons aux restrictions, quoiqu'injustes et arbitraires, qu'on a imposées à S.M. et aux personnes de son service."

parte, and their consent to undergo such restrictions as the British might think proper to impose upon him. All, however, have chosen the latter, with the exception of Marshal Bertrand, who, I believe, has not yet decided. The next day Buonaparte spoke to me about the various letters which had appeared in the English newspapers concerning him since his arrival at St. Helena; and alluded particularly to one in which the writer asserted several falsehoods concerning his voracity of appetite, and that he drank a pot of porter and two bottles of claret at breakfast. 'Why,' said he, 'I do not know what the English will make of me in the end; they say that I drink so many bottles of wine daily, that I eat so much, that I will produce a famine in this detestable rock. I suppose that they will make me eat a *live bull* at a meal by-and-bye,' continued he, laughing. 'Do you think the English people really believe those stories?' He then launched out into invectives against the island, which, as they were not to be contradicted, of course I answered not; asked me if I had not been at Capri in the Bay of Naples, to which I answered in the affirmative. He asked me then which I thought worst of the two; to which I answered that in time of peace with Naples [Capri was the] preferable residence, but in time of war I conceived it [otherwise. He then asked][1] if I had not been in Alexandria in Egypt: I answered, 'Yes.' 'In a line-of-battle ship,' said he; 'but I suppose you could not enter [the harbour].' I told him that we soon found a passage through which any vessel might go, which he would not believe for some time, until I told him that I saw the Tigre and Canopus, of eighty guns each, enter with ease. 'Why,'

[1] The words within brackets are supplied by conjecture, as blanks exist in the copy of the letter to which the author has had access.

said he, with astonishment, 'that Commodore Barré, whom you took in the Rivoli, was ordered by me to sound for a passage when I was there, and reported to me that there was not a possibility of a line-of-battle ship entering the harbour.'[1] He observed then that the French fleet might have been saved if he had done his duty; and made some remarks not much to the credit of the French naval officers. I told him then that we had blockaded up the passage by sinking two vessels laden with stone in it; to which he replied that it was easy to remove such obstacles. Notwithstanding the great prejudice he has against the Admiral, I should not be surprised if he will have reason in a short time to wish him back again, as I hear it whispered that, though the allowances, with respect to eating and drinking, furniture, &c., will be much more liberal than heretofore, yet that restrictions still more severe than those ordered by the Admiral will be imposed upon him, which, God knows, were so strict, that anything more must be superfluous. The Admiral had a very delicate and difficult task to perform; and after having surmounted every difficulty, presented both by nature and the want of every convenience, and undergoing all the opprobrium with which he is loaded by them for obeying his orders, Sir Hudson steps in, finds everything nearly finished, and brings with him directions to supply Buonaparte's table in the most liberal manner, instead of eight covers, which the Admiral by his instructions was limited to. The Admiral certainly was rather too economical, but I suppose he acted according to the best of his judgment up to the strict letter of his orders. Do not let this letter be made public, as you

[1] This sentence, which could not be deciphered, has been corrected from the 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 57.

must readily perceive that he would know directly who was the author, and repute me as a spy. I sent you by the Redpole some of his hair and decorations, but you have not acknowledged the receipt of them. . . . Hope is even an inhabitant of St. Helena, and sometimes her cheering influence reaches to the breast of the once so much dreaded possessor of Longwood."

In his despatch to Earl Bathurst of the 21st of April, Sir Hudson Lowe, after making an official report of all his proceedings since his arrival, and of his interview and conversation with Bonaparte on the 17th, thus spoke of Longwood :—

"Whilst at Longwood, I took an opportunity of looking round the situation and buildings. The situation appears to unite as many advantages as could be well found in the island, and really does not seem liable to the objections which General Bonaparte's family has been so studious to raise against it; but the house itself is a very straggling one, having only a ground floor, to which several small rooms have been added, with offices, detached buildings, and a new house close to it building for General Bertrand; the whole with trees intermixed, without any enclosure or area, and consequently exceedingly difficult to guard with perfect security during the night-time. Six sentries are drawn close to it at night; but the British officer who lives in the house, to accompany General Bonaparte when he goes out, acquaints me he does not consider it would be difficult for him to effect his escape from it, during a very dark night, without being observed by the sentries.

"The only rooms of which I saw the interior in the building were the sitting and dining rooms. They are as well fitted up, perhaps, as the means of the island

admitted, but neither the furniture nor general appearance corresponds to what might be considered to appertain to a General officer of rank in any other place—very inferior, indeed, to that of the house allotted for me, which is like that of an English gentleman's ordinary country residence, such as your Lordship's instructions have pointed out for him.[1]

"I, however, only saw two rooms, and must therefore reserve a more conclusive report till I examine the house in detail. As a temporary residence it is, perhaps, as good as could have been obtained for him; but the question of its remaining as his permanent one is liable on more than one ground to some objection. The general defect of the house at Longwood is the scattered style of building, without having any enclosed area. To remedy this, for any habitation in which General Bonaparte may be placed, I should beg leave to recommend that a considerable quantity of iron railing, not of too massy a kind, should be sent out by some of the first ships from England, sufficient to enclose a space of at least 600 yards. To make other enclosures and divisions it might be advisable to send out about 1200 yards of invisible fence, of somewhat a closer construction than is ordinarily used. . . . . I enclose, for your Lordship's information, two fortnights' accounts of Mr. Balcombe, purveyor to General Bonaparte's household. The amount of one is 683*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*; the other, 567*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* The annual expense, consequently, at the former rate, is above 16,000*l.*; and at the latter, 13,000*l.* The number of persons for which this expense is incurred is fifty-one, of whom nine alone, with four children, are of his family; the rest, with the exception of two officers in

[1] This passage shows the consideration of Sir Hudson Lowe for the comfort of the inmates of Longwood.

attendance upon him, being servants. I am not as yet enabled to say whether it may be possible to effect any reduction in this expense."

We have seen, from O'Meara's letter of the 22nd of April, that the domestics at Longwood were required to sign a paper stating their willingness to remain. A similar declaration was exacted from the French officers, in pursuance of the instructions contained in Lord Bathurst's letter of the 10th of January. "The tenor of this declaration," says Count Montholon, "was unsuitable; but to declare in writing our determination to share the Emperor's captivity was accepted by us without hesitation—I may venture almost to say with a kind of joy, for it afforded us the opportunity of giving a high testimony of our devotion." He then says that Count Las Cases, General Gourgaud, and himself took their declarations to Count Bertrand, and requested him to forward them with his own to the Governor, but that Count Bertrand refused to sign; that he received an order to go to Plantation House to reply verbally to the communication, and endeavour to obtain some modification of the conditions; that he was well received by Sir Hudson Lowe, but gained nothing; that the next day Napoleon sent Count Montholon himself to Sir George Cockburn for the same purpose; that the 19th was passed by the Governor or his Aides-de-Camp going and coming on the subject of the declarations; that the Governor would yield nothing; and that on the 20th they had all signed except Count Bertrand, who held out until the 24th.[1] Sir Hudson Lowe had drawn

[1] Récits de la Captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon, tome i. pp. 247-249. The English edition (vol. i. p. 185) gives a much shorter account of the transaction.

up a form of declaration and sent it to them for their respective signatures, but this by no means suited the susceptible vanity of the French officers, who thought this a good opportunity for making a display of heroism and insulting the British Government. Each, therefore, adopted a style of his own, and it is amusing to see how the changes are rung upon the miseries they pretend, in order to enhance the merit of their devotion to "the Emperor."

Count Las Cases said,—

"I, the undersigned, repeat the declaration already made by me in Plymouth Roads, that I mean to share the fate of the Emperor Napoleon; to accompany him, to follow him, and to alleviate as much as I can the unjust treatment he experiences by the most unheard-of violation of the rights of man, and which affects me personally so much the more, as it was I who transmitted to him the offer and the assurances of Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, that he had orders from his Government to take the Emperor and his suite under the protection of the British flag, if such were his wish, and to conduct him to England. . . . . And now, notwithstanding the knowledge I have acquired of the horrors of an abode in St. Helena, so injurious to the health of the Emperor and to that of every European, and although during the six months that we have passed in the island I have suffered every species of privation, which I voluntarily increase daily, in order to expose myself as little as possible to the want of those courtesies to which my rank and habits lay claim, I reiterate that, constant in my sentiments, my desire is to remain with the Emperor, and that I am ready to submit to the same restrictions as may be arbitrarily imposed upon him.

"Le Comte de Las Cases."

Count Montholon said,—

"I, the undersigned, repeat the declaration which I made in Plymouth Roads, of my desire to follow the Emperor Napoleon. I confided in the assurances given us by Captain Maitland, of his Britannic Majesty's ship Bellerophon, in the name of his Government. . . . . In respect to us, all the laws of nations and those of England have been violated. From Plymouth Roads we have been transported to a distance of 2000 leagues from our country to the torrid zone, and there confined on a sterile rock, continually enveloped in clouds, drenched with rain, and beaten by the winds, and whose climate, by the extraordinary variations of its temperature, is more fatal than any other to the health of Europeans. For the last six months we have been deprived of everything which could render life supportable, and, as if that were not enough, we have been subjected to arbitrary restrictions not even justified by necessity. Nevertheless, since it is exacted, I hereby declare, in order that I may continue my services to the Emperor Napoleon, and afford him some consolation in his unhappy condition, that I submit to the restrictions imposed, and voluntarily connect my fate with his.

"LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DE MONTHOLON."

General Gourgaud, after detailing his abortive commission to deliver Napoleon's letter to the Prince Regent, thus proceeded:—

"During the six months that we have been upon this rock I have suffered from the fatal effects of its climate. A terrible disorder (dysentery), from which I am scarcely recovered, had brought me to the brink of the grave.[1] Separated from all my family, having

[1] See O'Meara's account of Gen. Gourgaud's illness, pp. 75, 76, *ante*.

no one to tend me but strangers, whose language I did not understand—for on my arrival in the island, under pretence of some slight irregularity, an old servant who had followed me from attachment was taken from me and sent back to Europe[1]—I have experienced more than any one all the horrors of this place; nevertheless, since I am required to renounce remaining with the Emperor, to whom I may minister some consolation, unless I declare my submission to the restrictions that are imposed upon him, I submit to everything that is dictated to me by my attachment, by duty, and by honour.

"Le Baron de Gourgaud, General of Artillery."

Count Bertrand made more difficulty, and a correspondence took place between him and the Governor, which was terminated by the latter informing him positively, that if he refused to sign the declaration he must embark with his family within a week on board the Phaëton frigate, for the Cape of Good Hope.

This decisive language of the Governor had the immediate effect of inducing Count Bertrand to sign the following declaration:—

"To Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

"Monsieur le Gouverneur, "Longwood, April 24, 1816.

"I have received the letter you did me the honour to write to me yesterday. The health of the Emperor not allowing of my leaving him at present, and no other means being left to me of fulfilling the engagement I have contracted, I declare it is my wish to remain at St. Helena, and to submit to the same

[1] This servant had clandestinely got on board the Northumberland, and proceeded to St. Helena in defiance of the Admiral's positive prohibition. See Sir G. Cockburn's despatch, p. 36, *ante*.

restrictions as are imposed upon the Emperor. I have the honour to be, &c.

"LE COMTE BERTRAND."

Sir Hudson Lowe transmitted his correspondence with Count Bertrand, and copies of the declarations, to the Secretary of State, in a despatch, in which he said,—

"The form of declaration was delivered to General Bertrand on the 18th instant. On the 20th I received a letter from him, enclosing declarations in quite a different form from all the officers and French attendants excepting himself. As the conclusion of them is equally binding with that I gave, and as the complaints with which they are prefaced would probably have to be presented in some other form, I did not deem it necessary to return them, the more particularly as they contain so true a picture of the present disposition, feeling, and character of some of the persons in question. The declaration from the servants was quite unlooked for: I shall have a further communication with them.[1] There has been an evident attempt to mislead and entangle them as political characters in the same discussions with their masters. .... With the present feelings of the persons attached to General Bonaparte, I conceive the whole of them, with the exception perhaps of Las Cases, had better be removed; and the insolent and presumptuous manner with which they manifest their opinions on all occasions, both verbally and in writing, respecting the measures which the British Government has thought fit to adopt respecting Bonaparte himself (of which Ge-

[1] No copy of the declaration of the servants has been found in Sir Hudson Lowe's papers. He subsequently saw them, and they confirmed what was stated in the paper they had signed.

neral Bertrand's conversation will exhibit an example), might afford a sufficient pretext;—on all which, however, your Lordship's judgment will better determine."

Although Sir Hudson Lowe consented to accept these declarations, notwithstanding their offensive tone, the English Government would not receive them couched in such language, and, as will be hereafter seen, insisted that the declaration should be signed as originally drawn, under pain of instant dismissal from the island.

Among the materials for the history of Bonaparte's captivity, the reports of the orderly officer in attendance upon him at Longwood are deserving of attention, as they noticed every transaction and conveyed every complaint within a few hours after, and often at the instant they occurred. For this reason extracts from these reports from time to time will be given, and they will afford the means of correcting some misrepresentations.

On the 30th of April Captain Poppleton wrote to the Governor,—

"I did not see General Bonaparte the whole of yesterday; he did not quit his apartment even to dinner. I ascertained his being there in the morning by the usual ringing of his bell.[1] In the evening, about four o'clock, I found Madame Montholon, backed by the General, had said, General Bonaparte as well as herself had been extremely ill the whole of the previous night in consequence of eating some fish. As the General did not make his appearance, I requested Dr. O'Meara would, under the pretence of visiting him on account of his illness, ascertain if he

[1] This was surely being content with very insufficient evidence. How did Captain Poppleton know that it was *Napoleon* who rang the bell?

was there. Dr. O'Meara went to his room door, heard him speak, but from his confidential servant, Marchand, was told he had not been ill at all, but was up till a very late hour writing."[1]

On the same day Sir Hudson Lowe had a second interview with Napoleon, which he thus describes :—

"Having received an intimation from Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer attached to Longwood House, that General Bonaparte had not been visible the day before, but that either he or Dr. O'Meara would certainly endeavour to see him in the course of that evening, to be enabled to make his report as usual to me, I immediately repaired to Longwood, in order to prevent any unpleasant intrusion on him, however warranted by the instructions given to the orderly officer, which require that he should either see General Bonaparte twice during the day, or ascertain his being on the spot, and report accordingly. I met General Montholon at the door of the house, asked how General Bonaparte was, and, on being told he was indisposed and suffering, said I wished to offer him the assistance of a medical officer, but begged him to wait on General Bonaparte and acquaint him I was there, imagining, as it was after four o'clock, when he usually received people, he would probably see me. General Montholon went in, and returned shortly afterwards, saying General Bonaparte would see me.

"I passed through his dining-room, drawing-room, another room in which were displayed a great number

[1] These untruths were very common at Longwood. Count Montholon says that on the 25th of April, 1816, the Governor asked to be admitted to Napoleon, who "refused to see him, and ordered him to be told that he was ill and in bed. Hardly, however, had the Governor left when the Emperor called for his carriage and took a long drive."—*Récits*, vol. i. p. 261.

of maps and plans laid out on a table, and several loose quires of writings, apparently memoirs and extracts, and was then introduced into an inner apartment, with a small bed in it and a couch, on which latter Bonaparte was reclining, having only his dressing-gown on, and without his shoes. He raised himself up a little as I entered the room, and, pointing out a chair to me close to the couch, desired I would sit down. I seated myself, and commenced the conversation by saying I was sorry to hear he was suffering from indisposition, and had come to offer him the assistance of a medical officer of respectability [1] who had come out with me from England, that he might have the benefit of his advice as well as that of Dr. O'Meara, should he require it. 'I want no doctors' [2] was his reply. He then, after some indifferent questions, asked me whether the wife of Sir George Bingham had arrived? She had not arrived, I replied; and I had reason to regret on another account the Adamant transport had not yet come in, as she was laden with several articles that might be useful to him, such as wines, clothes, furniture, &c. He said it was all owing to the want of a chronometer; that it was a miserable piece of economy on the part of our Admiralty not to give every vessel above 200 tons a chronometer—he had caused it to be done in France; that, exclusive of the value of the ship, the lives of the persons in it merited that consideration. I said they were not vessels employed under the direction of the Admiralty, but of another board. This made no difference, he said. After some other general and unimportant questions a short interval of silence ensued. He lay reclined on his couch, his eyes cast down, apparently

[1] Dr. Baxter.

[2] "Je ne veux pas de médecins."

suffering a good deal from an oppression in his breathing (which had been particularly observable, so as to cause an occasional interruption to his voice whilst in discourse), and his countenance unusually sallow and even bloated. He recovered himself after a little while to ask me what was the situation of affairs in France at the time I left Europe? I said, everything, I believed, was settled there.

"Beauchamp's 'Campaign of 1814' was lying on the floor near him. He asked me if it was me who had written the letters referred to in the appendix to his work. I replied, 'Yes.' 'I recollect Marshal Blücher at Lübeck,' he said: 'is he not very old?'— 'Seventy-five years,' I replied, 'but still vigorous, supporting himself on horseback for sixteen hours in the day, when circumstances render it necessary.' He sat reflecting a few moments without any observation. He resumed: 'The Allies have made a convention declaring me their prisoner: what do they mean? They have not authority to do so (ni en droit ni en fait). I wish you to write to your Government and acquaint it I shall protest against it. I gave myself up to England, and to no other power. It is an act of the British Parliament alone which can warrant the proceedings against me. I have been treated in a cruel manner. I misunderstood the character of the English people. I should have surrendered myself to the Emperor of Russia, who was my friend, or to the Emperor of Austria, who was related to me. There is courage in putting a man to death, but it is an act of cowardice to let him languish, and to poison him in so horrid an island and in so detestable a climate.'[1]

[1] "J'ai mal calculé l'esprit du peuple Anglais. J'aurais dû me rendre à l'Empereur de Russie, qui était mon ami, ou à l'Empereur d'Autriche, qui était mon parent. Il y a du courage à faire tuer un homme, mais c'est une

I said the island of St. Helena had never been regarded in that light; that, except so far as related to the precautions necessary for his personal security, it had been the desire of the British Government to render his situation as comfortable as possible; that the house, furniture, and effects of every kind coming out for his use, certainly indicated as much regard as it was possible to show him consistent with the main object for which this place of residence had been selected. 'Let them send me a coffin; a couple of balls in the head is all that is necessary. What does it signify to me whether I lie on a velvet couch or on fustian? I am a soldier, and accustomed to everything. I have been landed here like a convict, and proclamations forbid the inhabitants to speak to me,'[1] —attributing a great deal of all this to the Admiral; but concluded with saying, 'It is not that the Admiral is a bad man.'[2]

"The conversation then turned on the localities of Longwood House. He inveighed bitterly against it; said he was excluded from all communication with the inhabitants; that many persons in the town would willingly come to see him, but that they were afraid to ask for passes; that he had no trees about him; that this alone rendered the spot detestable; that he could not ride to any extent; that he wished to have a greater range for his exercise without being accompanied by an officer; that unless I gave him a greater range I could do nothing for him. I told him the

lâcheté de le faire languir et empoisonner dans une île si affreuse et sous un climat si détestable."

[1] "Qu'on m'envoie un cercueil! Deux balles dans la tête, voilà ce qu'il faut. Qu'importe à moi si je me couche sur un canapé de velours ou de basin? Je suis un soldat, et accoutumé à tout. On m'a débarqué ici comme un galérien. Proclamations défensent aux habitans de me parler."

[2] "Ce n'est pas que l'Amiral soit un méchant homme."

range of Longwood was greater than any other piece of ground on the island. He said perhaps so; but that there was the camp on part of it. He did not want to see the camp always; he could not ride where that was. He wished the people of the island might be allowed to come and see him. He recurred frequently to the hardship there was in depriving him of all intercourse with them. His addresses to me on this point were humble and artful; they obtained no assent from me. He spoke of my having insisted on seeing his servants; that it was a strange thing to interfere between a man and his valet-de-chambre; that personally seeing and examining the servants after having received their declaration was as much as to say, 'in good French, that they had lied.'[1] I told him 'it was Count Bertrand's fault. I had pointed out to him the way in which I intended to receive their declaration; he wished it to be otherwise, but I had insisted upon receiving it in the manner I had indicated.'—'Ah! this is now over,' he replied.[2]

"He said he would recommend to the four who had signed their declaration to leave him whenever he found his situation more precisely defined, and should make application for their being permitted to do so. He said, 'Repeat everything I have mentioned to you to your Government. I wish them to know my sentiments.' On going away I again offered him medical assistance. 'I want no doctors,' he replied. These were the last words he addressed to me."[3]

---

[1] "En bon Français, qu'on avait menti."

[2] "C'était la faute du Général Bertrand. Je lui avais indiqué la manière que je comptais recevoir leur déclaration; il l'avait voulu faire d'une autre, mais j'avais insisté pour la recevoir de la manière que j'avais indiquée." "Ah! c'est une chose passée."

[3] Count Las Cases (*Journal*, April 30, 1816) has given a very dif-

Further difficulties having been thrown in the way of the orderly officer at Longwood seeing Bonaparte, who still confined himself to his room, Sir Hudson Lowe determined upon speaking to General Bertrand on the subject, and he proceeded to his house, accompanied by Sir Thomas Reade, on the 4th of May, when he had an interview which he thus describes:—

"After the ordinary compliments I begged permission to have some private conversation, accompanied, however, by Sir Thomas Reade. I commenced by acquainting him of the communication I had received on the 30th of April from the orderly officer, as to the difficulty he had experienced in making any report to me of the actual presence of General Bonaparte at Longwood, in consequence of his having been confined to his room and visible to no person for nearly two days: that, understanding he had been indisposed, I had myself repaired to Longwood to offer him the assistance of a medical person, but that he declined receiving any aid: that his confining himself under such circumstances, without suffering himself to be seen by any one, was productive of much inconvenience, as the orderly officer could no longer make his

ferent account of this conversation, at which, however, *he was not present*. It is twice alluded to by O'Meara (*Voice*, vol. i. 38, 47), and what he represents Bonaparte to have told him that Sir Hudson Lowe had said is *untrue*. Napoleon's own remark to him (*if indeed he ever made it*) must have arisen from an excess of ill-humour:—" 'During the short interview that this Governor had with me in my bedchamber,' continued he, 'one of the first things which he proposed was, to send you away, and to take his own surgeon in your place. This he repeated twice; and so earnest was he to gain his object, that, although I gave him a most decided refusal, when he was going out he turned about and again proposed it. I never saw such a horrid countenance. He sat on a chair opposite to my sofa, and on the little table between us there was a cup of coffee. His physiognomy made such an unfavourable impression upon me, that I thought his looks had poisoned it, and I ordered Marchand to throw it out of the window; I could not have swallowed it for the world.'"

usual reports to me of his being actually on the spot: that I had notwithstanding said nothing on the subject, under the hope that the circumstance had occurred by accident and would not fall into common practice; but that I had that morning received a second report on the same subject, and found myself under the necessity of addressing him to obviate anything unpleasant that might occur from it, conceiving this would best be done by General Bonaparte following the same system he had pursued before my arrival, of showing himself occasionally during the day, or, if really confined by indisposition, allowing himself to be visited by Dr. O'Meara, as had been before the practice: that, confining himself for forty-eight hours at a time in his room without any one seeing him, it became impossible to know whether he was actually in the house or not; the more so as, when questioned respecting him, Count and Countess de Montholon represented him to have been extremely unwell and vomiting, and his valet-de-chambre, who was also questioned, saying nothing had been the matter with him, but that he had been up all night writing: that, amidst such contrary reports, the orderly officer could ascertain nothing from his own attendants: that I felt all the delicacy of addressing him personally on such a subject: that I had refrained from noticing it to any one in the first instance; and I trusted mentioning the matter in an amicable manner to him (Count Bertrand) would be the means of obviating anything of the same kind in future.

"General Bertrand heard me with great attention; and did not attempt to justify, but simply said General Bonaparte was not aware of the officer at Longwood having any orders to report about him. (I afterwards ascertained from Sir George Cockburn that

the instructions the officer had received on this subject, though not perhaps officially communicated to General Bonaparte, were fully and perfectly understood; and until my arrival Dr. O'Meara had been in the usual habit of seeing him every morning, whether ill or not.) General Bertrand then addressed me to remark that an order had been given to the merchants and shopkeepers in James Town not to give credit to the persons in General Bonaparte's family—that this put them to very great inconvenience, as there were several small articles which they could not obtain in any other manner. I told him I had sent round such an intimation to the different merchants and shopkeepers, but that this was simply a renewal of the same caution they had already received from Sir George Cockburn. General Bertrand said Sir George Cockburn had given out such an order, but had afterwards recalled it. I appealed to Sir Thomas Reade to hear General Bertrand's remark, finding it in direct contradiction to what Sir George Cockburn had himself said to me only two days before. General Bertrand showed himself to be much disconcerted at being detected in an assertion so contrary to what the Admiral had said, and did not press further on the subject, particularly when I told him there was no difficulty in his obtaining anything, within proper bounds, of which he might stand in need, but that he should send in his list of things wanted either to me or to Mr. Balcombe, instead of running up an account in town, and that they would be immediately procured for him. To this arrangement he could not object; but as it checks communication with a variety of persons with whom the sending of goods might only be a pretext for other matters, I have no doubt of the prohibition being considered as a very unpleasant one.

"Finding he had addressed me on one subject where precaution had appeared to me particularly necessary, I resolved on opening another matter to him. Two officers returning to the Cape of Good Hope had gained admission to General Bonaparte, having only a passport from General Bertrand. I had understood from Sir George Cockburn that occasionally General Bonaparte had invited to dinner persons who had been presented to him; and that in such cases he had directed the invitation-card of General Bertrand should be considered as a sufficient pass. I said to General Bertrand I had understood he had granted passports to several individuals without reference to the only case in which I conceived they could have been admitted, that of invitation; and, to avoid trouble to himself as well as to me, I begged he would not give any pass to enter the house, except to such persons as had my permission; that otherwise they could not be allowed to be valid, and the sentries must turn the persons back. He affected great surprise at this communication; said it had been arranged with General Bonaparte and the Admiral himself that his (General Bertrand's) passports should be always valid; that it made an entire change in General Bonaparte's situation, if he was to be regarded as a prisoner 'au secret,' and not be allowed to see any person except with a permission from the Minister of Police; that he must confer with the 'Emperor' upon it, and have further explanation on the subject. I advised General Bertrand not to endeavour to make a point upon it; that if he (General Bertrand) had authority to grant passports to whom he pleased, my authority was of no avail, and he might as well at once be Governor; that I had only called his attention, in the three points we had dis-

cussed, to the regulations established by my predecessor—merely recurred to first principles; that I felt all the difficulty of reconciling the strict execution of my duty with that degree of regard and attention which General Bonaparte appeared to require; that it was an object of particular solicitude with me to do so, but that where one point interfered with the other I could have no alternative, and I felt assured General Bonaparte himself was too much of a soldier not to know what my duty required of me, or to disapprove my mode of executing it; that I trusted he would explain all this properly to him—if he required I would myself wait upon him and repeat it—it was of consequence matters should be explained in the precise terms and sense in which they were expressed; that, if so, I was assured he would see they were natural, and not be disposed to cavil at them. He told me the communication would be of a painful nature, but that he should express them with every delicacy in his power, and be careful in particular not to 'jeter de l'huile au feu.'

"The conversation then terminated. The result was the establishment of three points, which had been either before not sufficiently specific or had fallen into partial disuse, *viz.*:—

"1st. The necessity of General Bonaparte showing himself twice a day, morning and evening, or giving by some other means certain indications of his actual presence at the house.

"2nd. The prohibition of communication with merchants, shopkeepers, and tradesmen, except through the medium of a third person.

"3rd. The prevention of any stranger seeing him except with the Governor's previous authority.

"Sir George Cockburn, *after* my conference, told

me he had suffered General Bertrand to give passports,[1] but considered himself as guarded from any ill consequence by the officer of the guard being compelled to report every person who passed, and send the passport to him. I was not aware of General Bertrand's authority having extended to anything more than the invitations to dinner when I entered upon the conversation with him, but have not on such account regretted the precise line now established by my conference with him."

On the 11th of May Sir Hudson Lowe caused a public notice to be issued, that no person whatever was to receive or be the bearer of any letters or communications from General Bonaparte, the officers of his suite, his followers or servants of any description; or to deliver any to them; as such communications were to take place through the Governor only.

The Countess of Loudon and Moira, wife of Earl Moira, Governor-General of India, having arrived at St. Helena on her passage to England, Sir Hudson Lowe availed himself of the occasion to invite Bonaparte to Plantation House, and addressed a polite note on the 11th of May to Count Bertrand, in which he said,—

"Should the arrangements of General Bonaparte admit it, Sir Hudson and Lady Lowe would feel gratified in the honour of his company to meet the Countess at dinner on Monday next at six o'clock. They request Count Bertrand would have the goodness to make known this invitation to him, and forward to them his reply."

Count Bertrand sent the following reply:—

---

[1] Vide pp. 51, 52, *ante*.

"Count Bertrand has the honour to present his compliments to General Sir Hudson Lowe, and to thank him for the trouble he has been pleased to take to inform him of the arrival in this island of the Countess Loudon; he will be happy to pay his respects to her. Count Bertrand has communicated the note of Sir Hudson to the Emperor, who has not made any reply to it.[1]

"Longwood, May 12, 1816."

The Countess of Loudon, however, received a verbal message, that Bonaparte would have been charmed at the opportunity of paying his "court" to her if she had been within his limits; and he sent some sweetmeats for her children.

Sir Hudson Lowe's invitation to Bonaparte to meet the Countess of Loudon became the subject of an interesting conversation with Count Bertrand on the 17th of May:—

"I mentioned to Count Bertrand," says Sir Hudson, "my regret that I had not known of the difficulty which prevented General Bonaparte from seeing the Countess of Loudon, as it could have been so easily removed; that, if he had any objection to be accompanied by the orderly officer resident at Longwood House, I would myself, with pleasure, have accompanied him, or sent any officer of my personal staff; or, if our official situation were to be considered as imposing any restraint upon him, any other officer of his own particular desire on the island. General Bertrand said the 'Emperor' was resolved never to go

[1] According to Count Montholon (*Récits*, vol. i. p. 270) Napoleon "laughed much at this ridiculous message;" and Count Las Cases (*Journal*, May 11, 1816) says he (the Count) "*blushed* at the indecorum!" "Je suis devenu rougè de l'inconvenance." (See O'Meara's 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 49.)

beyond his limits, if accompanied by any British officer whatever. He then entered into a long detail of conversation, to prove to me that the precaution of giving him limits was perfectly unnecessary with respect to his security, so long as the sea-coast and the immediate approaches to it were guarded; and concluded by saying, 'He will never go beyond the limits assigned to him if he is to be accompanied by an English officer; if they wish to kill him here, they can do so.'[1] I replied, 'If General Bonaparte wishes to kill himself, it is not our fault. Being at all times free to go out, it is his own affair if he does not profit by it. The reproach addressed to us is unjust.'[2] I added, that I was really sorry to observe he had made such a strange law to himself, as any extension of his limits would, I feared, prove incompatible with the instructions I had received to provide for his personal security; that the instructions were, he should be allowed to proceed nowhere except accompanied by a British officer; that by the consideration of Sir George Cockburn he had been, notwithstanding, granted an extent of nearly twelve miles on the most level and practicable part of the island for his habitual exercise, without being accompanied by any one; that, instead of this meeting any acknowledgment, it appeared to have only furnished matter for fresh demands; that there were several officers in the island whom I was well assured the Prince Regent of England would not feel it an humiliation to be attended by. General Bertrand appeared struck with my last observation,

[1] "Il ne dépassera jamais ses limites s'il est accompagné par un officier Anglais; et si on veut le tuer ici, on peut le faire."

[2] "Si le Général Bonaparte veut se tuer lui-même, ce n'est pas notre faute. Etant toujours libre de sortir, c'est sa propre affaire de ne pas en profiter. Le reproche envers nous est injuste."

but made no reply to it. In the course of conversation I mentioned that it was not an encouragement to grant a further extension to his limits and that of the officers with him, when I found that hardly a stranger or any other person left the island who had an opportunity of communication with him, that was not solicited to be the bearer of letters or messages, under pretence of conveying information to their friends or relations; at the same time that they all knew I was always ready myself to transmit any letters or communication they might have to send on such subjects. General Bertrand attempted to justify himself from this observation, but did it very imperfectly, being well aware of the circumstances I referred to."

No one can doubt the kindness which prompted the Governor to invite Napoleon to dinner; but the act, though well-intentioned, was, I think, a mistake. Bonaparte clung tenaciously to the title of Emperor, which Sir Hudson Lowe could not accord to him. And he must have been under the surveillance of an officer both in going and returning. The meeting, therefore, at table under such circumstances would have been productive of embarrassment on both sides. On board the Northumberland the case was different, for there to dine with the Admiral was almost a necessity.

We must now detail the particulars of an extraordinary interview between Bonaparte and Sir Hudson Lowe on the same 17th of May, immediately after the latter had left General Bertrand:—

"It being necessary to come to some decision in respect to the house and furniture which had been sent from England for the accommodation of General Bonaparte and his followers, I resolved," says Sir Hudson Lowe, "on waiting on him, communicating to

him the arrival of the various materials, and asking his sentiments in respect to their appropriation before I made any disposition of them. I previously called on General Bertrand to ask if he thought General Bonaparte would be at leisure to receive me, and on his reply, which was in the affirmative, proceeded to Longwood House, where, having met Comte Las Cases, I begged he would be the bearer of my message to the General, acquainting him of my being there, if his convenience admitted of being visited by me. I received a reply, saying the 'Emperor' would see me. I passed through his outer dining-room into his drawing-room. He was alone, standing with his hat under his arm, in the manner he usually presents himself when he assumes his Imperial dignity. He remained silent, expecting I would address him. Finding him not disposed to commence, I began in the following words:—'Sir, you will probably have seen by our English newspapers, as well, perhaps, as heard through other channels, of the intention of the British Government to send out hither for your accommodation the materials for the construction of a house, with every necessary furniture. These articles have now for the most part arrived. In the mean time, Government has received information of the building prepared for your reception at this place, and I have instructions for appropriating the articles as may seem best, whether for making a new building, or adding to the conveniences of your present one. Before making any disposition on the subject, I wished to know whether you had any desires to communicate to me regarding it.' He stood as before, and made no reply. Observing his silence continue, I again commenced by saying—'I have conceived, Sir, that possibly the addition of two or three good rooms (deux ou trois salons) to your

present house, with other improvements to it, might add to your convenience in less time than by constructing a new building.'

"He then commenced, but spoke with such rapidity, such intemperance, and so much warmth, that it is difficult to repeat every word he used. Without apparently having lent an ear to what I had said, he began,—'I cannot understand the conduct of your Government towards me. Do they want to kill me? Are you come here to be my executioner—my gaoler? Posterity will judge of the way in which I have been treated; the sufferings I experience will recoil upon your nation. No, Sir, I will never allow any one to enter the interior of my house, to penetrate into my bed-chamber, as you have ordered to be done. When I heard of your arrival in this island, I thought that, as an officer of the army, I should find you possessed of politer manners than the Admiral, who, as a naval officer, might have had a rougher bearing. I have no fault to find with his heart. But how do you treat me? It is an insult to invite me to dinner, and to call me General Bonaparte. I am the Emperor Napoleon. Are you come here to be my executioner—my gaoler?'[1] Whilst speaking in this manner his right

[1] "'Je ne conçois rien à la conduite de votre Gouvernement envers moi. Est-ce qu'on veut me tuer? Est-ce que vous êtes venu ici pour être mon bourreau—mon geolier? La postérité jugera de la manière dont j'ai été traité. Les malheurs que je souffre retomberont sur votre nation. Non, Monsieur; je ne permettrai jamais qu'on entre dans l'intérieur de ma maison, qu'on pénètre dans ma chambre-à-coucher, comme vous en avez donné l'ordre. Lorsque j'ai entendu parler de votre arrivée dans cette île, j'ai cru que, comme militaire de l'armée de terre, je vous aurais trouvé d'un caractère plus honnête que celui de l'Amiral, qui, comme officier de marine, aurait pu avoir des manières plus dûres; je n'ai pas à me plaindre de son cœur. Mais de quelle manière me traitez-vous? C'était une insulte de m'inviter à dîner et de m'appeler le Général Bonaparte. Je ne suis pas le Général Bonaparte—je suis l'Empereur Napoléon. Est-ce que vous êtes venu ici pour être mon bourreau—mon geolier?"

arm moved backwards and forwards, his person stood fixed, his eyes and countenance exhibiting everything which could be supposed in a person who meant to intimidate or to irritate.

"I suffered him to proceed, though not without a strong feeling of restraint upon myself, until he was nearly out of breath, when, on his stopping, I said,—'Sir, I have not come here to be insulted, but to treat of an affair which concerns you more than it does me. If you are not disposed to speak about it, I will retire.' 'I had no intention to insult you, Sir, but how have you treated me? Has it been in a way becoming a soldier?'—'Sir, I am a soldier to perform the duties I owe to my country in conformity with its customs, and not according to the mode of other countries. Besides, if you think you have any cause to complain, you have only to write, and I will transmit your representation to England by the first opportunity.'—'What will be the use of sending it to your Government? it will not be attended to there any more than here.'—'I will have it published in all the papers of the Continent, if you wish it. I am performing my duty, and am indifferent to anything besides.'[1] Then adverting for the first time to the matter which had brought me to him, he said, 'Your Government has

[1] "'Monsieur, je ne suis point venu ici pour être insulté, mais pour traiter d'une affaire qui vous regarde plus que moi. Si vous n'êtes pas disposé d'en parler, je vais m'en aller.' 'Je n'ai pas voulu vous insulter, Monsieur; mais de quelle manière m'avez-vous traité?—est-ce de la manière d'un militaire?' 'Monsieur, je suis militaire à la manière de mon pays, pour faire mon devoir envers lui, et non pas d'après celle d'un autre. D'ailleurs, si vous croyez avoir raison de vous plaindre de moi, vous n'avez qu'à écrire: j'enverrai votre représentation en Angleterre par la première occasion.' 'A quoi bon l'envoyer à votre Gouvernement? elle ne sera pas plus écoutée qu'ici.' 'Je la ferai publier dans toutes les gazettes du continent, si vous me le demandez. Je fais mon devoir, et suis indifférent pour le reste.'"

made me no official communication of the arrival of this house. Is it to be constructed where I please, or where you may fix it to be?'—'I am now come, Sir, for the express purpose of announcing it to you. I have no difficulty in replying to the other point. If there is any particular spot which you might have thought of to erect it upon, I will examine it, and have it erected there if I see no objection to it. If I see any objection to it I will acquaint you of it. It was to combine this matter in some degree of concert with you that I am now come.' 'Then you had better speak to the Grand Maréchal about it,' he replied, 'and settle it with him.' 'I prefer, Sir, addressing you upon it. I find so many *mésintelligences* happen when I adopt the medium of other persons, particularly as in the instance of the orders which you mention I had given for forcing an entrance into your private apartments, that I find it more satisfactory to address yourself.' He made no particular reply to this, walked about for a moment, and then, working himself up apparently to say something which he thought would appal me with extraordinary surprise or dread, he said,—'Shall I tell you the truth, Sir? Yes, Sir, shall I tell you the truth? I believe that you have received orders to kill me—yes, to kill me. Yes, Sir, you have received orders to do any and every thing.'[1] He then looked at me as if expecting a reply. My answer was,—'You remarked, Sir, at the last interview I had with you, that you had misunderstood the character of the English people, and you now equally misunderstand that of the English soldier.'[2]

[1] "Voulez-vous, Monsieur, que je vous dise la vérité? Oui, Monsieur, voulez-vous que je vous dise la vérité? Je crois que vous avez les ordres de me tuer—oui, de me tuer; oui, Monsieur, vous avez les ordres de faire tout, tout."

[2] "Vous avez observé, Monsieur, dans la dernière entrevue qui j'ai eue

"Our conversation here terminated. He stood a little while, and, as if neither of us had anything more to say, we mutually separated. Not seeing, however, any motive in what had passed to prevent me from saying what I had intended to do when I first came into the room, I addressed him again by the word 'Monsieur,' and, on his turning his head, said, 'There is at present an officer of my staff with me, who I am desirous, on this occasion, of presenting to you. It is a Lieutenant-Colonel of the King's Guards[1] (Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard).'[2] He replied,—'I cannot receive him at present; when one is insulted, one is not in a humour to see any one.'[3] I made an inclination of my head, and retired. On quitting the room I found two of his servants *close* to and *listening* at the outside of the *door*, and Comte Las Cases walking in a contemplative mood at the other end of the room."[4]

On the 20th of May Sir Hudson Lowe transmitted these notes of his conversation with Bonaparte to Earl Bathurst, and said in his despatch,—

"It would be difficult to account for the extraordinary resentment he displays at the most common

---

avec vous, que vous aviez mal calculé l'esprit du peuple Anglais; vous calculez aussi mal à présent l'esprit d'un militaire Anglais."

[1] "Il y a un officier de mon Etat-Major avec moi à présent, que je désirerais dans cette occasion vous présenter—c'est un Lieutenant-Colonel des Gardes du Roi."

[2] Lieut.-Colonel (afterwards Major-General) Edward Buckley Wynyard, C.B., arrived at St. Helena in the Adamant store-ship on the 6th of May, and became Military Secretary to the Governor.

[3] "Je ne peux pas le recevoir à présent; lorsqu'on est insulté, on ne peut tenir société à personne."

[4] Montholon, Las Cases, and O'Meara concur in saying that this interview took place on the 16th instead of the 17th of May, and they have all more or less misrepresented what took place. *No one of them*, it must be remembered, *was present*; and they must all have derived their knowledge of the conversation from Bonaparte.

precautions which are taken for his personal security on any principle of common reasoning. It must be, therefore, affectedly put on, or spring from a great delusion in his own mind as to the degree of faith and confidence to be reposed in him. Under either point of view, I feel it more and more difficult to reconcile the exercise of my duty with the high respect, regard, and attention which he seems to require. His objects evidently are—a greater degree of personal liberty, and greater opportunity of personal intercourse with that class of persons who are the most likely to be worked on by him. 'If you cannot extend my limits, you can do nothing for me,' was a remark he made in my second conference with him. All the rest, I apprehend, he considers as a specious illusion, if not an insult, and feels irritated at the same time his designs should have been seen through, and his applications prove abortive. It has been very remote indeed, however, from either my intention or practice to give him any additional motive of irritation. The precautions for his security are precisely the same as those established by Sir George Cockburn. The communications I addressed to your Lordship on the 13th instant, and the memoranda of conversations referred to in them, will show that no additional measures have been taken beyond what the attempts to produce relaxation, and to establish precedent thereupon, have too evidently required. In every other respect I have been solicitous to add to his comforts and convenience; and on the occasion of informing him of the arrival of the materials for his house, was prepared, if I had found the objections to establish his permanent residence at Longwood absolutely irremovable, to have offered to him the selection of another spot, incomparably the most eligible in point of air, trees, and verdure, on the

island, and which I had already in a certain degree for this purpose ensured the occupation of. The violence of his manner, however, prevented his receiving any other communication than that which is detailed in my conversation with him.

"In relating the particulars of this conversation to your Lordship, I think it a duty to myself to mention that General Bonaparte's anger drew forth no violence of language or expression from me. I said precisely what is stated in the memoranda, and nothing else; and what I did say was uttered with a tone of composure. I understood he was in an exceedingly ill humour after I quitted him, but that the following morning (during which interval he had seen General Bertrand, and probably heard the conversation I had with him) he had recovered his temper, so much so as to send for Dr. O'Meara to breakfast with him, when his conversation almost entirely ran on the accusations which had been brought against him by Sir Robert Wilson for his conduct in Syria, and what he had been accused of in respect to Captain Wright, alleging the injustice of both, and saying he doubted not Sir Robert Wilson would, during his late residence in France, have ascertained upon what slight foundation his accusations stood."[1]

Napoleon had, however, the grace to admit the impropriety of his conduct towards Sir Hudson Lowe. Count Las Cases says, in his Journal, under the date 31st of May,—

"After dinner the Emperor, conversing on our situation and the conduct of the Governor, who came to-day and took a rapid circuit round Longwood, reverted to the subject of the last interview they had

[1] See 'Voice,' i. 51.

had together, and made some striking observations respecting it. '*I behaved very ill to him, no doubt,*' said he, 'and nothing but my present situation could excuse me; but I was out of humour, and could not help it; I should blush for it in any other situation. Had such a scene taken place at the Tuileries I should have felt myself bound in conscience to make some atonement. Never during the period of my power did I speak harshly to any one without afterwards saying something to make amends for it. But here I uttered not a syllable of conciliation, and I had no wish to do so. However, the Governor proved himself very insensible to my severity; his delicacy did not seem wounded by it. I should have liked, for his sake, to have seen him evince a little anger, or pull the door violently after him when he went away. This would at least have shown that there was some spring and elasticity about him, but I found nothing of the kind.'"

In other words, the Governor behaved with dignity and forbearance during this explosion of bad temper on the part of Bonaparte. He must have been more or less than man not to *feel* the insult with which he was assailed, but he kept perfect command over himself; and this is proved by the testimony of Napoleon, who was annoyed and irritated at the imperturbable coolness with which Sir Hudson Lowe bore his outrageous language.

Count Montholon confirms this statement of Las Cases:—

"31st May.—The conversation in the evening turned upon our situation towards the Governor; and on my observing that perhaps we had to reproach

ourselves with keeping up the fire rather than trying to extinguish it, for it was, in fact, the quarrel of the 'pot de terre contre le pot de fer,' the Emperor said to us, '*I have treated him very ill, I allow*, and I can find no justification except in my horrible position. If at the Tuileries I had had such a burst of ill-humour, I should have thought myself obliged to make reparation.'"[1]

Before quoting some letters written during the months of May and June by O'Meara, I will give an extract from a despatch of the Governor to Lord Bathurst on the 13th of May, which shows the readiness of the Doctor at that time to afford information respecting the persons at Longwood. In that despatch Sir Hudson Lowe said,—"Having found Dr. O'Meara, who was attached to General Bonaparte's family on the removal of his French physician, very useful in giving information in many instances, and as, if removed, it might be difficult to find another person who might be equally agreeable to the General, I have deemed it advisable to suffer him to remain in the family, on the same footing he was before my arrival, until your Lordship's pleasure may be known."

O'Meara's letters will speak for themselves: written at the moment, and with no motive to deceive, they are much more likely to be true than the *résumé* of his memoranda for a publication six years afterwards, when, both from interest and malice, he gave a very different account of the same persons and the same transactions. From his position as the resident medical officer at Longwood, he naturally enjoyed a larger share of the confidence of its inmates than any other Englishman on the island.

[1] Récits, i. 293.

In what manner he repaid that confidence, and the trust reposed in his professional character not only by the men but by the ladies under his care, will now be made known to the world; and perhaps in no other instance has a similar violation of propriety, and even of common decency, disgraced any member of that liberal profession.

On the 22nd of May he thus wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Reade:—

"Dear Sir Thomas, "Longwood, May 22, 1816.

"According to Sir Hudson Lowe's desire, yesterday I communicated to General Montholon 'that the Governor had been under the necessity of removing the Persian servant,[1] in consequence of his having entered Longwood without permission from him, and his having hired himself without its having been first made known to the Governor, which he (the Governor) held to be indispensable previous to any domestic being hired, adding that, however, if General

[1] The removal of this servant is mentioned by Count Las Cases (*Journal*, May 21, 1816) and by Count Montholon (*Récits*, vol. i. p. 283). The latter represents Sir Hudson Lowe as galloping up to the "poor Lascar," seizing him with his own hands by the throat, and then giving him in charge to a dragoon to conduct him to the town to be questioned:—"None of the French had seen this act of savage anger—the English did not dare to inform me." Napoleon, he adds, was much offended, as the man, who waited at his table in his Indian costume, pleased him. "He ordered the Grand Marshal to write to Sir Hudson Lowe, who, on this occasion at least, was convinced he was wrong, and excused himself on account of his ignorance of the real situation of the Lascar at Longwood; but he did not send him back; for, foreseeing, no doubt, the issue of the explanation, he had caused him to be embarked two hours after his arrest." The facts of the case are stated in the above letter; and see *post*, p. 254. No correspondence on the subject has been found; but a note in the margin of the volume in which that letter was copied shows the propriety of removing the Lascar from Longwood:—"This man now fills the office of executioner at St. Helena, having accepted that appointment in commutation of punishment on conviction of some atrocious crime."

Montholon wanted a servant, if he would write to Sir Hudson expressing his wish, one would be provided for him.' He would scarcely let me explain myself, and broke out into violent invectives against the Governor; said that it was a most gross personal insult, not only to him, but to the Emperor (as he called him), taking away his servant without first acquainting him: that he considered it in the same light as if the Governor had given him a slap in the chaps or a kick in the 'derrière;' adding that he would not always be a prisoner, and that he would take an opportunity hereafter of making Sir Hudson account for it: that General Gourgaud, De Las Cases, &c., had hired servants in a similar manner without being obliged previously to apprize the Admiral of it; that he would have done so had he known it to be necessary. He also said that removing the ship servants was another insult to Bonaparte, and that he (Bonaparte) would not receive the others sent in lieu of them; adding that they had been discharged from the service, and that he had signed an agreement with them, in presence of, or with the knowledge of (I don't know which he said) Glover,[1] by which he bound himself to pay them six months' wages in advance in case of sending any of them away, which of course he would be obliged to adhere to. During this conversation his *wife* was present; I do not know which was the most *valorous* of the two. The epithet 'grossière,' and others of a similar nature, were very liberally dealt out by both; and when her husband talked of his wounded honour, and his determination to seek a reparation for it, she seemed most nobly to second him, and I suppose intends accompanying him to the

[1] Mr. Glover was Sir George Cockburn's secretary. Vide p. 67, *ante*.

field. I do not know (as I have not seen Bonaparte since) whether he said that he would not receive the other servants or not, but think it probable, notwithstanding the authority is so *bad*. One of the servants ordered to join his ship this day is not able to walk down, therefore it would be advisable for Balcombe to send up a horse to convey him down. I am, &c.

"BARRY E. O'MEARA."

On sending a complaint about some copper stewpans a few days afterwards, O'Meara again alluded to Count Montholon's habitual disregard of truth:—"He appeared very desirous to have my testimony, apparently conscious that his own statement would not meet with much credit unless corroborated by others."

About this time the Countess Montholon was expecting her confinement, and her preparations for that event were the constant subject of O'Meara's sneers and vulgar derision. But however desirable it is that the true character of one whose falsehoods have had such an injurious effect should be thoroughly exposed, many passages in his letters must be passed over in silence; for it would be a violation of propriety and decorum to publish the coarse and unmanly language in which the naval surgeon ridiculed the feelings of ladies whom he professionally attended. And yet this is the man who had the assurance, in his 'Exposition,' to reprove the author of 'Facts from St. Helena' for some harmless pleasantry on Madame Bertrand's figure. When in that work he said that the writer's "efforts to vilify and degrade the sex would, in the estimation of Englishmen, return with tenfold weight on the calumniator's own head," he little thought of the retribution which slowly but surely awaited himself.

The following extract from a letter written by him

to Major Gorrequer on the 12th of June is merely flippant. After informing Major Gorrequer that Le Page, the French cook, had hurt his thumb, and would be incapable of doing anything for some days, he says,—"General Montholon begs of you to have the goodness to apprize his Excellency thereof, and to request that (if possible) another person may be sent who understands French dishes, to act during the illness of *Maître* Le Page. You have no idea what consternation has appeared upon the countenances of more than *one* at the idea of such a *calamitous* circumstance taking place as their being deprived of the skill of Maître Le Page for such a length of time as a week or ten days. I have been requested, with lengthened visage, to make a *signal* to you with all *haste*, as if the fate of Cæsar and of Rome depended upon it."

On the same day O'Meara added in a postscript to an unimportant letter written to Sir Thomas Reade, some remarks which he thought witty, but which are indelicate and offensive, respecting Madame Montholon, and then ended by saying of her husband, the Count, that "were he not a liar and base, he would be a gentleman; and, except for these two defects, is a good kind of man enough.'"[1]

On the 14th of June he acquainted Sir Thomas Reade with General Montholon's desire to have some articles for his wife's confinement; and, after indulging in a strain of ribaldry congenial to his nature on the approaching event, he said,—

* * * * * *
* * * * * *

[1] The original is in Italian. "Se non fosse bugiardo e vile, sarebbe galantuomo, ma levategli questi due difetti è bravuomo."

* * * * * *

"You cannot conceive how the drooping spirits of both were revived at the exhilarating sight of the French cook. General Montholon observed to me how proper and necessary it would be to have a cook in *reserve* (like a spare topmast) in case of any unforeseen calamity befalling Le Page: 'for,' said he, 'what would become of us if any accident happened to him? What could *we* do? God only knows!' This was accompanied with such an interrogatory countenance, so expressive of expected misery, that he put me in mind of a condemned criminal, for whom no hopes of pardon existed, imploring the aid of a confessor.

"When Jeannette arrived, Maître Le Page, after having an observation at her, declared his intention (before he had spoken a single word to her) of *marrying* her. Cipriani, the maître-d'hôtel, to whom he expressed himself, told him that it would be necessary first to ascertain that she had not *already* a *husband*, or perhaps, if not, a lover. 'Oh, that *last* is nothing,' said Le Page; 'I don't care how many she may have had of *them*.' Then, running, with his arm in a sling, towards her, said he, 'Madam, are you married?'—'No, Sir.'—'Then, if you please, I will marry you immediately.' She told him, however, that she could not think of it so very soon: 'at least,' said she, 'let us wait *two* or *three* days first;' which he consented to with great apparent reluctance."

The arrival of some sheets at Longwood gave O'Meara an opportunity, which he thought too good to be lost, of making some gross and satirical jokes, but part of his letter must for the sake of decency be omitted. He thus wrote on the 21st of June to Major Gorrequer:—

"Dear Sir, — The sheets and pillow-cases have been received to-day, and . . . . . some of the produce of Old Ireland. I think, if a little of a plant not very dissimilar was applied to the neck of her husband, in order to hang him out in the sun to dry for just half an hour, it would not produce many moist eyes at Longwood. Mr. Darling has been taking the dimensions of the room, and has taken a list of what things he thinks will be necessary; and Montholon (better known here by the appellation of '*il Bugiardo*' [the Liar]) says that, if it is his Excellency's intention to build a new house, it will be better to send up not the first-rate furniture, but as much of the second as will make the rooms comfortable. Bonaparte is much pleased at the news of the books being under way, and expressed himself so to me. He wishes for a catalogue, if there is one, to be sent with them. I explained to Montholon — who, were he not a poltroon and a liar, would be a most excellent man, and who, but for these two little defects, is a perfect gentleman[1] — that you were combining heaven and earth together to lodge him and his amiable consort in state, which he assented to with several hypocritical grimaces and professions of thanks. The tin arrived two days back. I remain, &c.

"BARRY O'MEARA."

And on the 27th of June he wrote to Major Gorrequer another letter in a mock-heroic tone, applying for a wet-nurse for Madame Montholon, whom it seems to have been at the time his delight to turn into ridicule. We will not sully our pages with its contents, for, although not without a certain degree of clever-

[1] Se non fosse poltrone e bugiardo, sarebbe bravissimo uomo; ma levategli solamente questi piccoli difetti é perfetto galantuomo.

ness, we must remember that it is the jesting of a physician at the expense of his patient, and that patient a lady!

To his correspondent at the Admiralty, Mr. Finlaison, he said, on the 19th of June,—

"Sir George Cockburn has not had any interview with Bonaparte since the one I told you of, in which he certainly was not very handsomely treated, neither has he called at Longwood once. Bonaparte, however, has several times expressed his preference of him to Sir Hudson Lowe, though latterly he has been much less abusive of the last-mentioned, who also has not called on him for a considerable time. As soon as I receive an answer to my former communications to you I will continue the correspondence relative to him, provided that you will faithfully promise not to make public such private conversations as I may have had with him, as such would not only injure me in his estimation but also that of the public."

On the 4th of June Sir Hudson Lowe sent a despatch to Earl Bathurst, which contained some additional particulars respecting Bonaparte. In it he said—

"He (Bonaparte) told Dr. O'Meara, a few days after my last conversation with him, that he should have been happy to have extended his rides as far as Plantation House, and to have visited Lady Loudon when there, if the road had been within his limits, but that his objections to being accompanied by a British officer were insurmountable, as well as his dislike to be called General Bonaparte: that, if a signal was made when he wanted to ride out, horsemen might be placed on the heights to watch him, which would answer the same purpose as having an officer to accom-

pany him. His disposition to enter the houses of the inhabitants, to speak to all those he meets, and to give money to the slaves and lower classes,[1] renders even this degree of indulgence one of very doubtful propriety. He has recently rode through the camp of the 53rd regiment. I had before deliberated whether I should not comply with the wishes he expressed to me on my second interview with him, of removing the camp from its present situation, in order that he might have a greater range for his rides, and believe I shall now carry this into effect."

Captain Poppleton informed the Governor, on the 5th of June, that Bonaparte had, for the first time since he entered Longwood, passed through the guard at the gate on the previous Sunday morning, not receiving the salute: formerly he had always avoided it by going round.

[1] Amongst the Lowe MSS. is a paper containing a list of a few persons to whom Napoleon gave money on these occasions.

CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL OF REAR-ADMIRAL SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM AND THE FOREIGN COMMISSIONERS—PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR—MADAME BERTRAND'S NOTE TO THE MARQUIS DE MONTCHENU—QUESTION OF NAPOLEON'S RESIDENCE AND EXPENSES OF HIS ESTABLISHMENT—INTERVIEW BETWEEN HIM AND THE GOVERNOR—SIR HUDSON LOWE'S DESPATCHES TO ENGLAND.

ON the 17th of June the Newcastle frigate, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, K.C.B., the successor of Sir George Cockburn in the command of the naval station at St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope, arrived at St. Helena, having on board Lady Malcolm and the three foreign Commissioners—Count Balmain for Russia, Baron de Stürmer for Austria, and the Marquis de Montchenu for France—sent in conformity with the Convention of the 2nd of August, 1815.[1] By this vessel Sir Hudson Lowe received the Act of Parliament and Warrant for the detention of Bonaparte, and the two following letters from Earl Bathurst:—

"Dear Sir, "London, April 15, 1816.

"As it is very desirable that the expense attending the detention of Buonaparte in St. Helena should be ascertained so far that an average estimate may be formed of the annual amount, I think it necessary to desire that you should lose no time in regulating, and if necessary abridging, the expenditure of Buonaparte's table and household, so that the annual cost may not

[1] Prussia, though a party to the Convention, sent no commissioner. The Convention will be found amongst the Letters and Documents at the end of this volume, No. 22.

exceed 8000*l.*, including wines and extraordinaries of every kind. In case of his remonstrating against the retrenchments which this regulation may occasion, you are at liberty to allow him the full extent of the indulgences he may require (in regard to table and so forth), provided he will produce the funds necessary to cover the expense beyond the 8000*l.* a-year. That he can command the pecuniary means I apprehend there is no doubt; and he must pay the salaries and wages of such of his followers and servants as may persevere in remaining with him; but I hope you will persuade most of them to accept the release we have offered them.[1] I remain, &c. "BATHURST."

"(Private.)

"My dear General, "Downing Street, April 15, 1816.

"I hope you will have been able to reduce very much the number of attendants on Buonaparte, by encouraging the disposition which several of them must have felt to return home or remove from St. Helena. Their residence in the island must add much to the expense, which you will see by a demi-official letter from me it is very desirable should be reduced as much as possible; and it may always occasion cabal with the inhabitants, and possibly even with the Commissioners, who will have too little to do where they are going to not to be tempted to do a little mischief. On this principle also you will encourage the Commissioners to amuse themselves by going to the Cape by way of change of scene, and engage to furnish them and their Court with a regular account of the state of your prisoner. I beg to be remembered to Lady Lowe, and have the honour to be yours very faithfully, "BATHURST."

[1] This letter was communicated by the Governor to Count Montholon.

Lord Bathurst here intimates his opinion of the uselessness of the Foreign Commissioners. It was in fact altogether a mistake to send them to St. Helena. Napoleon was quite right when he said, "What folly it is to send those Commissioners out here! without charge or responsibility, they will have nothing to do but to walk about the streets and creep up the rocks."[1] Their presence in no respect contributed to the safe custody of Napoleon, and it served only to irritate him and give trouble to the Governor. Sir Hudson Lowe's correspondence and notes of conversations with the Commissioners, independently of the communications to the Secretary of State of which they were the subject, fill two closely written folio volumes in manuscript, and we shall have occasion more than once to notice the difficulties caused by their meddlesome interference. On the 21st of June, a few days after their arrival, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Sir Henry Bunbury, Under Secretary of State, and gave the following amusing account of the new comers:—

"The Austrian Commissioner shows himself a true 'élève' of Prince Metternich. No chameleon could change his hue more frequently than he has done on observing any desire or opinion he has ventured upon not meeting my assent. He was at first all for free intercourse with Bonaparte, to learn everything he could from him and his followers, to make up a budget by every occasion for Prince Metternich. He now reprobates anything like communication, and is of an absolute indifference as to anything he can learn from him. In other respects he appears a gentlemanly, pleasant, and well-informed man. The French Marquis, who had been thirty years an emigrant, says,

[1] Voice, vol. i. p. 64.

'*Ce sont les gens d'esprit* qui ont causé la Révolution.' *He* evidently has had no hand in it. The Russian appears to laugh at the other two, and really appears to have much more in him than either of them. He is descended from a Scotch family. The expense of this place frightens them all, and, I think, will soon drive them all away from it, except perhaps the Austrian, who may be retained here *in petto* until it may be determined what shall be the fate and fortunes of the King of Rome, of whose beauty, intelligence, and the dignity of whose infantine manner the Baroness his wife seems quite full."

By the Newcastle frigate Sir Henry Bunbury had written to Sir Hudson Lowe, and he gave him some information which furnished an additional motive for keeping vigilant watch over all correspondence with and from Longwood. Sir Henry said,—

"By an intercepted letter to Bonaparte which Sir George Cockburn sent home, it is clear that the ex-Emperor has large sums of money in different parts; and that his agents have lodged money on his account in the principal towns of America as well as in England, with the hope of his being able to get at some one or other of their deposits. We have been unable hitherto to obtain any clue to this matter: it is very desirable to discover both the treasure and the agents."

The same vessel brought also a copy of a work by Mr. Hobhouse, now Lord Broughton, entitled 'The Substance of some Letters written by an Englishman resident at Paris during the last Reign of Napoleon.'[1] It was sent by the author as a present for Bonaparte,

[1] With an Appendix of Official Documents. London, 8vo. 2 vols. Published anonymously.

and gave rise to some unpleasant discussion. He had written in one of the volumes "IMPERATORI NAPOLEON," and Sir Hudson Lowe did not think it consistent with his duty to forward books with such an inscription from a British subject. He therefore kept them, as he was authorized to do by the following note addressed to him by Mr. Hobhouse:—

"Whitton Park, April 10, 1816.

"Mr. Hobhouse presents his best compliments to Sir Hudson Lowe, and trusts that he is not making a request which cannot be granted in asking that the accompanying volumes may be presented to the ex-Emperor. Mr. Hobhouse hopes that Sir Hudson Lowe will honour his volumes with a perusal previously to forwarding them to Napoleon; and he takes the liberty of begging that, if it be thought improper to give them at all to the person for whom they are destined, Sir H. Lowe will afford them a place in his own library."

Sir Hudson Lowe received at the same time a kind letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Kent recommending to his notice a map and plans of St. Helena, published by an old officer of the name of Read, in whom the Duke took an interest.

About this time Colonel (afterwards Lieut.-General Sir Henry) Keating, who was on his way from the Mauritius, had an interview with Bonaparte, and a curious conversation took place between them, which was detailed by that officer to the Prince Regent on his arrival in England. What renders it more interesting is, that it was afterwards repeated by the Prince Regent to the late King of the French, Louis Philippe, who was then in this country, and who made a full note of it in his journal, dated "Twicken-

ham." This was, with his other private papers, pillaged at the Tuileries, when the mob broke into the palace during the revolution of February 1848. The family of the dethroned monarch must acknowledge that Napoleon spoke with prophetic intelligence, and that his words have been strikingly verified by the wonderful events which have placed his nephew upon the throne of France. He told Colonel Keating that England would soon have need of him, and would remove him from St. Helena. It was impossible that the Bourbons could retain power in France, and that recourse must be had to himself or his son, in either of which cases he would be summoned to Europe. He said that if his brother Joseph had not been a fool (*benêt*) he would have enlightened Spain as he (Napoleon) had enlightened France, and then the Bourbons would have had no hold there. "But," he continued, "I speak not of my brother—the question is about my son: it is he who is necessary to France, and France will have him, because she cannot do without him. People do not want your nonsense about legitimacy. All the monarchs of Europe are fools with their legitimacy. That is not common sense. The people want no more of that. I must speak to your Prince Regent. He has sense and spirit, and would understand what I have to say to him. Europe and especially France are too enlightened to be caught by the stupid nonsense which the old monarchs and their courts talk about legitimacy, divine right, the throne, and the altar. The less they wish to grant liberty to their subjects the more they must speak to them about it. I do not wish it any more than they, you may be sure. I know well that now-a-days it requires a rod of iron to rule men, but *it must be gilded*, and we must make them believe when we strike them

that they direct the blow themselves. It is necessary always to talk of liberty, equality, justice, and disinterestedness, and never grant any liberty whatever. No change of system is required, but only a change of language, and, provided we talk to the people of liberty and equality, I answer for it that they may be easily oppressed and made to pay down to their last farthing, without being tempted to rise in insurrection or feeling really any discontent."[1]

On the 19th of June Sir Hudson took occasion, in writing to Lord Bathurst, to complain of the ruinous and discreditable state of all the public buildings in the island, the repairs of and additions to which he said he considered as necessary more on account of the East India Company than of Government.

Next day he presented Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm to Bonaparte. He gave an account of what took place, and also of an interview with Count Bertrand, in a despatch to Earl Bathurst of the 21st of June :—

"Yesterday I presented Rear-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm to General Bonaparte. After speaking a few words to the Admiral, Bonaparte addressed to me several polite and attentive inquiries respecting myself and Lady Lowe. His questions were of no significant import; but they indicated quite a different disposition to that with which he had received me on the occasion of my last conference with him, and had to Sir Pulteney Malcolm the appearance on his part of a very marked overture. Knowing, however, the little cause there had been for the asperity

[1] That the substance of this conversation took place, and the above sentiments were expressed by Napoleon, the author has been assured by his friend Mr. Keating, Q. C. (the son of the late Sir H. S. Keating), who frequently heard his father mention it.

of his former behaviour,—that it may even have been in a certain degree assumed (as it is possible the kindness of his manner may be for the present moment),—the change was to me neither surprising nor unexpected.

"After my visit to him I took an opportunity of mentioning to General Bertrand the arrival of the three Commissioners, and stated their desire of an opportunity of seeing General Bonaparte. He asked me if they had brought any letters from their sovereigns, and what was the particular object of their mission? I told him they had brought no such letters, and that they were sent here merely to fulfil the terms of the Convention which had been entered into between the Allied Sovereigns; that they had no charge over his person, but had merely to report his being in existence, and that his personal security was watched over. I begged, therefore, he would mention their arrival to General Bonaparte, and ask him at what time and in what manner it would be most agreeable to him to see them. General Bertrand asked me if there was a Prussian Commissioner with them; and, on my answering in the negative, said he would mention the matter to Bonaparte, and give me a reply. None has yet arrived, and I apprehend, therefore, this interview may not be managed without some previous written communication, even if General Bonaparte should willingly acquiesce to being seen at all by the Commissioners. The Austrian and French Commissioners have informed me they have instructions to send a *procès verbal* once every month to their respective Governments, signed by themselves and by the Russian Commissioner, and to be countersigned by me, stating Bonaparte to be in existence, and his personal security provided for; that it is

necessary they should see him. The French Commissioner said particularly it is essential he should say 'Je l'ai vu.' The Russian Commissioner said he had no instructions except those which your Lordship had seen; that he had no particular instruction that enjoined he should actually *see* General Bonaparte; but that he should be happy to learn from me of the means and measures that were taken for his personal security, for the satisfaction of his Government. The whole appear to have come out with the impression that not only there could be no difficulty in seeing Bonaparte, but that they could at once be admitted to terms of habitual and free intercourse with him; but I have explained to them the various regulations in force in the island in respect to the prevention of any correspondence or communication whatever with him, except through my intervention (as well as the difficulties which result from the system which he has laid down for himself), and find in their opinions a general approval of what has been done. I have in the mean time, however, furnished each of the Commissioners with a passport, to pass through every part of the island where British officers of the navy and army are *usually* allowed to pass: this excepts Longwood House alone.

"If no answer comes from General Bertrand to-day, I shall endeavour to see him again; and if Bonaparte refuses to acknowledge the Commissioners, or will not consent to being seen by them, I may perhaps have some difficulty in reconciling the regard and respect which is due to the high situation which these gentlemen fill, and to the sovereigns they represent, with that attention which is prescribed to the situation of General Bonaparte himself in all points where *his personal security* is *not* concerned. I do not believe

any other means than *actual force* could induce General Bonaparte to receive a visit from the Commissioners in their official capacity; but his desire of communication with them, and theirs with him, will probably overcome difficulties on both sides as to time and manner. . . . General Bonaparte is much pleased with the arrival of his books, and has expressed his satisfaction at several of the articles which have been sent out for his use from England. He has said nothing further regarding his house; and I am in hopes, therefore, he is reconciling himself to the situation at Longwood."

To Sir Henry Bunbury the Governor said,—

"I had an interview yesterday with Bonaparte, when he received me in a particularly gracious and condescending manner. Sir Pulteney Malcolm, whom I had attended for the purpose of presenting him to Napoleon, said he never saw a person *come round* so much to another. Considering his behaviour on the occasion of my last visit to him to have been a good deal theatrical, the change was not to me either very surprising or unexpected."

The Acts of Parliament were published at St. Helena on the 28th of June in a Proclamation by the Governor, which after announcing that the Regulations already established were to remain in full force, and declaring that, if any person should have information of any attempted rescue or means of escape of Napoleon, and should not make an immediate communication of the same to the Governor, nor do his utmost to prevent the same taking effect, he would be regarded as having connived at and assisted in the rescue or escape, thus proceeded:—

"Any person or persons who may receive letters or

communications for the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers or attendants, and shall not immediately deliver or make known the same to the Governor or officer commanding for the time being, or who shall furnish the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers or attendants, with money or any other means whatever, whereby his escape might be furthered, will be considered in like manner to have been assisting in the same, and will be proceeded against accordingly.

"All letters or communications for or from the said Napoleon Bonaparte, any of his followers or attendants, whether sealed or open, are to be forwarded to the Governor without loss of time, in the same state in which they may have been received.

"And whereas it is not the object of the Regulations hereby promulgated to induce any unusual or unnecessary rigour, but to enforce the due execution of the rules heretofore established, and to prevent the ill effects which result from ignorance and inconsiderateness, as well as design, it is in consequence made known to all those persons whose duty calls upon them to attend near the place where the said Napoleon Bonaparte, his followers or attendants, reside, or who have business which has any relation to them, that they will be furnished, upon due application, with regular licences and authorisation from the Governor of the island, signed with his hand; and nothing is to be construed from the Acts of Parliament, or these Regulations, as warranting any violent or improper demeanour against him or them, so long as he or they observe the restrictions under which the law and the instructions of His Majesty's Government has placed them."[1]

[1] This is not happily expressed. Even if the restrictions were not observed by Bonaparte and his followers it would not warrant violent or *improper* treatment of them. And yet this is what the proclamation *seems* to imply.

On the 29th Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Lord Bathurst, and said that recently Bonaparte's *valet-de-chambre*—

"came to town, and met one of the foreign servants—I believe one of the Marquis de Montchenu's—from whom he received a letter which, I have reason to understand, gave some account of the so-called King of Rome. I believe the Marquis de Montchenu (if it was his servant) to be uninformed on the subject, as he gave all the letters he had himself brought to me; but that one or more letters have been brought for persons of General Bonaparte's family is unquestionable; and this is not one of the least evils I have to guard against as resulting from the arrival of the Commissioners on this island. They appear sensible themselves of the inconvenience which may result from the communication between servants; and I shall hope to act in accord with them in whatever may be done or proposed."

Sir Hudson Lowe has been reproached with harshness and tyranny towards the Countess Bertrand, in having prevented the delivery of a note she had written to the French Commissioner, the Marquis de Montchenu, for the purpose of inquiring after the health of her mother, who was an invalid. In his 'Voice from St. Helena' O'Meara merely says, without comment, under the date of the 6th of July,[1]—

"Madame Bertrand informed Captain Poppleton and myself that she had written a letter to M. Montchenu, in which she had requested him to call at her residence, as she had heard that he *had seen her mother, who was in an indifferent state of health*, and she was *very desirous*

[1] Vol. i. p. 70.

to inquire about her; that Las Cases would also come and meet him on his arrival, as he was informed that Montchenu *had seen his wife* a short time before his departure from Paris."

And in another passage, under date the 11th, he says, "His Excellency asked me whether I knew what they wanted with the Marquis Montchenu. I replied, that Madame Bertrand wished to inquire after her mother's health, and that Las Cases was to have met him at Hutt's Gate; and that I was informed he was very anxious to inquire about his wife, as he had been told that Montchenu had seen her shortly before his departure from Paris. . . . . [Sir Hudson Lowe] desired me also to tell Madame Bertrand that he was very sorry any restrictions which he had imposed were disagreeable to her or hurtful to her feelings, *though it appeared to him that she had been made a tool of*, which he advised her not to try again." O'Meara in his book gives no explanation whatever of the allusion in the sentence here marked in italics, and he leaves the reader under the impression that he believed that Madame Bertrand and Count Las Cases were really anxious about their relatives, and that this was the sole object of the intercepted note. But on the very morning of the 6th of July—five days before the conversation which he represents himself as having had with the Governor on the 11th—he thus wrote to Sir Thomas Reade :—

"Madame Bertrand told me this morning that the letter she wrote to Montchenu was at the express desire of *Bonaparte himself*, repeated twice to her; and that, in case he had come up, old Las Cases was to have *immediately* proceeded to her house in order to have an INTERVIEW with him. . . . . .

"If you think Sir Hudson would like to know the

above circumstances, you had better communicate them to him."[1]

Not a word is here said of the illness of either the mother of Madame Bertrand or the wife of Count Las Cases, and the inference which O'Meara plainly leaves Sir Thomas Reade to draw is, that the contents of the note were a mere pretence for the purpose of obtaining a private interview between Las Cases and the French Commissioner.

The letter had been given *sealed* to Mr. Porteous, at whose house Napoleon had slept on the first night of his arrival at St. Helena, and was by him, on the morning of the 1st of July, most properly handed over to the Governor, who thereupon addressed Count Bertrand on the subject, telling him of the circumstance, and requesting that in future the inmates of Longwood would pursue the course which had already been clearly and distinctly pointed out to every person of the establishment, namely, of sending their letters open under cover to Sir Hudson Lowe. "Whatever private communication," said the Governor, "they may contain, which may be of no importance for others to be informed of, will be held by me most sacred; and I shall be happy if, by accelerating their transmission, or by endeavouring to obtain an early reply, I can

[1] The words in italics and large letters are so marked in O'Meara's original note (INTERVIEW being doubly underlined), which shows that he wished to indicate his suspicions of the real state of the case.

[2] This trick and the dishonesty of O'Meara were ably exposed in the 'Quarterly Review' (No. LV., Oct. 1822). But, when the Reviewer there says that "the story of the mother and wife was all false," we need not conclude that neither of them had any ailment. They may really have been ill—but the anxiety on their account expressed in the note was a mere device suggested by Bonaparte himself—and *this* was the fable. Count Las Cases (*Journal*, July, 1816) mentions the incident of the note as another instance of Sir H. Lowe's barbarity. See also 'Récits,' vol. i. p. 318.

render any service which may be of use to you or them.

"I should not omit to mention that, as all communications and correspondence with the persons who reside at Longwood, except with my knowledge and sanction, are positively interdicted by the instructions I have received and published, the employment of any individual to carry communications, either written or verbal, except such as are addressed to or made known to me through the orderly officer at Longwood, may tend to involve in the most serious consequences those who shall become the instruments of their conveyance; and I should hope this consideration, with those I have before presented, will have its effect in preventing your recurrence in future to any other channel than the very safe and simple one which I have pointed out, and from which I cannot take upon myself to suffer any deviation."[1]

It is difficult to believe that Bertrand was kept in ignorance of the real facts of the case, but in his reply next day he assumes that the note was written *bonâ fide* by his wife from a simple desire to learn tidings of her mother. He said,—

"M. de Montchenu having quitted Paris some time in March, and having seen the family of Madame Bertrand, she was desirous to have some news, more especially of her mother, who has been long ill; she has accordingly written a note to M. de Montchenu, requesting him to come to Hutt's Gate to communicate the tidings to her, her health not allowing her to go

[1] In the 'Voice' (vol. i. p. 69), under the date 1st of July, the letter of the Governor to Count Bertrand is mentioned as having forbidden all sorts of communications, either written or verbal, with the inhabitants, except with the Governor's knowledge through the orderly officer; but not a word is said of the circumstance that occasioned the prohibition.

into town. My wife has for several days had the intention of writing the note in question, but, M. de Montchenu's landlord[1] having called to see her, she took that opportunity to write. You say, Monsieur le Gouverneur, that we are prohibited from receiving or from sending any letters which have not passed through your hands; this has been notified to and punctually observed by us, but for such letters only as come from beyond or go out of this island. We have foregone the satisfaction of communicating with our families; but when the other day I presented to the Emperor the open letter which you sent me for him, he was greatly shocked by this want of courtesy, and, as he had abstained from writing any letters, that he might not have to transmit them unsealed, I am ordered not to receive any more open letters for him. Should any arrive you are at liberty to burn them. During nine months that we have been here we have constantly carried on a correspondence of notes in the island, with the knowledge of the Admiral, your predecessor, and even with your own ever since you have been here. My communications and those of the General officers at Longwood have been continued up to the present time, and, in most cases, our letters have been taken from or transmitted to us by orderlies on foot or on horseback, or by officers, according to circumstances. The former Governor and his wife, the Lieutenant-Governor and his wife, General Bingham, the Captain of the Northumberland, the officers of the navy—in a word, all the officers and other persons residing here—have written to and received letters from us. If we are to be regarded as prisoners of war, it is contrary to all right that officers and their wives should be prevented from writing notes to the inhabit-

[1] Mr. Porteous.

ants of the town in which they are allowed to walk. It would be an annoyance without object; for since we can go into town, within the precincts, and into the camp, it follows naturally that both speaking and writing are allowed. It can never have been the intention of the British Government to prohibit the writing of social notes to the persons with whom we are permitted to converse—the very nature of things is against it. If it had contemplated such a measure it would, of its own authority, have declared us to be not prisoners of war, but criminals, and cut off from all communication. We will not submit to this fresh vexation, and not one of us will write to the inhabitants of the island if our letters are to be subjected to your perusal. If you persist in this strange resolution you will have rendered our situation still more miserable. If the observations which you have done me the honour to send me point to the fact that the letter in question was written to a stranger arrived from Paris, and that we were not to communicate with M. de Montchenu, you should have apprised us of this. Monsieur le Gouverneur, since your arrival, I must tell you, you have rendered the situation of his Majesty much more frightful[1] than it was before. You speak in your letter of verbal communications: this is incomprehensible, if it alludes to persons in the island, with whom we must be allowed to speak, since we see and meet them; but thoughts are not to be controlled, and no injustice can subdue the soul."

To this Sir Hudson Lowe, who had not then been informed through O'Meara of Bonaparte's *ruse*, rejoined on the 4th,—

[1] "Affreuse."

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 2nd, which I received yesterday afternoon. Though the circumstance of the note having been sent to the Marquis de Montchenu may have been wholly unknown to General Bonaparte, yet the manner in which it has been blended with matters that do relate to him, and the sentiments you express to me on his part, make me regard your letter as written with his authority, and I shall reply to it accordingly. In regard to the letter which came to the address 'pour l'Empereur,' it was transmitted to you in the same state in which I received it: any other which may arrive I shall send in the same manner. It will remain, of course, with General Bonaparte to determine whether he receives it or not. I had a gratification in sending him a letter from so very near a relative the very moment I received it, and trusted it might have been agreeable to him; but the reproach and prohibition your letter contains afford a pretty strong proof how impossible it is to arrive at any proper understanding when things are seen through such very opposite mediums.

"If the note delivered to Mr. Porteous had been addressed to any officer or inhabitant on the island who had not been sanctioned in his communications with you, I should have equally disapproved of its transmission,—as an interchange of notes (except for an invitation to dinner, or to inform strangers who had been introduced to you when General Bonaparte would see them) is all that, to my knowledge, ever was permitted: everything beyond it I know Sir George Cockburn, unless done with his intimate knowledge of the persons and of the circumstances, entirely prohibited. But the note referred to in your letter

was written to no common person: it was addressed to a foreign officer of rank and distinction, who came here in an official situation, for an occasion of whose being presented to General Bonaparte I had addressed myself, Sir, to you, and neither General Bonaparte nor you had condescended to signify anything in reply. It is, Sir, a strange expectation to entertain, that regards are to be shown on one side and totally withheld on the other, or that you can be considered at one moment as the official confidant of General Bonaparte, and the next as a private individual, free from any restriction which is imposed upon him, or which his line of proceeding may impose upon himself. The situation of the Marquis de Montchenu, besides, had no analogy whatever to that of any officer or inhabitant in this island. It rested, Sir, in your discretion to mark the line where your communications, without the necessary forms of introduction and my known acquiescence, ought to have stopped: where that failed, it was my duty to impose the check, whatever further restraints it might create, and I cannot now rescind it.

"Your letter says, Sir, that since my arrival in this island the situation of General Bonaparte has been rendered much more 'affreuse.' I do not see how this follows as a corollary upon a matter which has related principally to yourself; and, in blending the relations of your domestic affairs with him, and in involving him in the consequences of them, it really appears to me, Sir, that you have more to reproach yourself than me if his situation has been rendered more disagreeable by it. With the sincere wish I have always had, and which I still entertain (notwithstanding the strange reception and repulsive language I have occasionally met with from General Bonaparte), to conciliate the

strict execution of my duty with those regards which my instructions warrant me in paying to him, I feel persuaded the difficulty to reconcile these two hitherto discordant points would be much less if I had only to treat of matters that related to him personally, or had to communicate with him alone regarding them.

"If there are any persons among his followers who have enjoyed a higher degree of consideration than others, it is, Sir, you and your family. . . . .

"In conclusion, Sir, I beg leave to observe that your residence on this island has been perfectly a voluntary one. You have been at entire liberty to withdraw from the control which my duty compels me to place you under; and I cannot, therefore, acknowledge in you any right to convey to me your reproaches for my manner of executing it. It has been my wish hitherto to contribute as much as possible to the ease and comfort of the officers who have accompanied General Bonaparte to this island, consistent with the restrictions his situation unavoidably placed them under; but, viewing the hostile tone of your last communication, I must resolve henceforward not to suffer my duties on this island to be increased by an attention to any other representations than those which relate personally to General Bonaparte himself, unless they are conceived in a spirit of more conciliation than what I have hitherto observed to prevail. I beg your communication of this letter to General Bonaparte, and have the honour to be, &c.

"H. LOWE."

In a despatch, marked "private and secret," to Earl Bathurst on the 7th of July, Sir Hudson Lowe informed his Lordship of the particulars of his recent

correspondence with Count Bertrand, copies of which were enclosed:—

"My Lord,

"In the last communication which I had the honour to address to your Lordship I expressed a suspicion of a letter having been brought by a servant of the Marquis de Montchenu to one of Bonaparte's attendants. I have since learnt the letter in question was brought by the valet-de-chambre of Baron de Stürmer, and that another letter was brought by his cook, both as I understand addressed to the same person, viz. Marchand, valet-de-chambre of Bonaparte. This man's mother or wife, I have not yet precisely learnt which, was nurse to the 'King of Rome,' and the first of the letters contained a lock of the child's hair. The enclosed letters to the address of 'Monsieur Feine,' which have been sent to me from Marchand to be forwarded to England, are I believe replies to both; and the lock of hair mentioned in one of them is that above referred to.

"I did not fail to mention to the Baron Stürmer the circumstance of the letters having been brought by his servants (though not the contents, as it might lead to the discovery of the channel by which I learnt them). He replied he had no knowledge of it; and I am told he has given a strong reprimand to both his servants, acquainting them he would not screen them from the effects of the Act of Parliament which had been promulgated in this island if they committed any similar practice in future. I had previously told him that an inhabitant might have been hanged for making such communications.[1] Upon this subject I cannot avoid

[1] This may have been said *in terrorem*; but the Governor must have known that the Act made it capital only to assist an attempt at *escape*.

offering to your Lordship's consideration how much the Act of Parliament is weakened in its effect in this island by the arrival of the Commissioners, as its penalties extend only to British subjects or persons owing allegiance, instead of reaching, as I believe penal statutes generally do, every person who is residing in a place where he is under British protection, and where the British laws are in force. The foreign servants of the Commissioners may therefore plead an exemption from the effects of the Act. The valet-de-chambre of Baron Stürmer has been fourteen years in the French service, and accompanied Joseph Bonaparte to Spain. The chambermaid of the Baroness, who is, as well as her mistress, a young Parisian, writes letters, the Baron says, as well as himself. I had particularly cautioned him before my departure from London against bringing out any French servants. The utmost I can do at present is to keep them and General Bonaparte's attendants as far asunder as possible, and every measure is taking by me to this effect." . . . .

Sir Hudson then gave an account of Madame Bertrand's sealed note, and afterwards thus proceeded :—

"I have, however, obtained certain information that the pretext for sending the note to the Marquis de Montchenu, as recited in the first part of General Bertrand's letter, was entirely a fabrication. Madame Bertrand herself has said the letter she wrote to the Marquis was at the express desire of *General Bonaparte himself*, repeated twice to her, and that, in case he had come up to see her, *Count Las Cases* was to have *immediately* proceeded to her house in order to have an *interview* with him. From the person to whom Madame Bertrand mentioned this, I am led to imagine she begins to be ashamed of her husband's line of con-

duct, and of herself being made the instrument of such truly despicable intrigues. . . . .

"I am now in a gradual course of reduction of the expenses of General Bonaparte's establishment; and at the conclusion of this month shall hope to be able to inform your Lordship of the precise limit to which they can be brought. Until the arrival of the store-ships from England everything was obliged to be purchased here at an increased expense—nearly *double* in the article of wine to what it can now be furnished at; and as it was a point upon which I had no specific instructions, I hardly felt myself at liberty to make any sudden or considerable alteration in the mode or quantum of supply which Sir George Cockburn had established. I am now, however, in hopes to effect a reduction in the expense, without any very sensible abridgment of the comforts or necessaries they at present enjoy; but should I not be able to bring the expense within the limits of the sum your Lordship has mentioned to me,[1] they have been distinctly informed the surplus charges must be defrayed by themselves, or a reduction in the expenditure take place.

"General Count Montholon, who has the principal charge of the household affairs, appears disposed to meet me on these points. The diminution in the numbers of the establishment which your Lordship had contemplated, it is almost unnecessary to point out, has not taken place, and it is this which may be the principal obstacle to a reduction in the expense. There can, I believe, be no doubt that Bonaparte and his followers can command the funds for any expenditure. Mr. Balcombe has told me Count Montholon offered to give him a bill in Bonaparte's name for 30,000*l.* on the house of Hope of Amsterdam; that

[1] Namely, 8000*l.* per annum. Vide p. 189, *ante*.

Sir George Cockburn advised him to take it, but, on his saying he would, Count Montholon drew back from his proposition, and said the 4000 napoleons must be first expended. I have the honour, &c.

"H. LOWE."

Before Sir Hudson Lowe took any measures for erecting the house for Bonaparte's residence, he applied to Count Montholon to ascertain if possible Napoleon's wishes on the subject, stating that he wished to know whether he should appropriate a part of the materials that had arrived in adding new apartments to his present residence, or commence a new building with them.

Count Montholon, however, gave him no decisive answer, but referred him to Count Bertrand on the subject. Sir Hudson then mentioned to Count Bertrand the two propositions he had made, and said he should await Bonaparte's determination. He suspended in the mean time some of the repairs and additions at Longwood, but, finding that no communication arrived from Longwood, he directed the works which had been in hand to be continued and completed. He then, on the 6th of July, wrote to Count Montholon, and said, referring to the subject,—

"I have waited several days without receiving any specific answer upon that or some other points upon which I had requested Count Bertrand to communicate with General Bonaparte (except some expressions of his indifference about it), and therefore take the liberty, Sir, of addressing myself to you, to request you will do me the honour to mention to the General my desire to be informed more particularly of his sentiments upon the point in question before I proceed any further with the works at Longwood. In consequence

of so much having been already executed or undertaken there, and of the house for Count Bertrand having been nearly completed since I first spoke to him, the plan of adding new apartments to, and finishing the buildings of, that establishment, is that by which I consider more can be done within a short space of time for his convenience and general accommodation, than by the construction of a new edifice. It is that therefore which I beg you to mention to him I propose to proceed upon, unless he should have other wishes on the occasion, and do me the favour to signify them to me, when I shall be ready to show them every attention that my instructions will admit."

Count Montholon says[1] that Napoleon wished Bertrand to reply to this letter, but that he refused, alleging that he ought not to answer a letter that was not addressed to himself, at which reply Bonaparte lost his temper; and that at six o'clock in the morning of the 8th, just as he was going into his bath, he called Count Montholon, and dictated the following:—

"Monsieur le Gouverneur, "Longwood, July 8, 1816.

"I have had the honour to receive your letter. The Emperor having greatly suffered last evening from rheumatism, I could not communicate it to him till late at night. He said (these are his words):—'This letter is written with the intention of being amiable. It presents a contrast to the ignoble vexations that are daily contrived. This does not agree with the conversation I had with Sir Hudson Lowe, and to which the letter refers. That conversation has left upon my mind only a painful recollection, something gloomy. This island is very injurious to my health; it is the

[1] Récits, vol. i. p. 322.

dampest country upon earth. They endeavour to render my residence in it still more unwholesome and miserable.' I have thought, Monsieur le Gouveneur, that I could not better respond to the confidence you have been pleased to show me on this occasion, than by making you acquainted with the feelings of the Emperor. He attaches but little importance to whatever relates to lodging, furniture, and things of that kind. With the best of intentions, your Government cannot remedy the continual privation in this island of objects of primary necessity. Longwood is the most unhealthy spot upon the island. There is no water, no vegetation, no shade; it has hitherto been impossible to grow vegetables here; the soil is parched up by the wind,[1] and, consequently, this part of the island is uninhabited and wild. If the Emperor had been established at Plantation House, where there are fine trees, water, and gardens, he would have been as well off as it is possible to be in this miserable country. If you have instructions to build, it would be desirable to do so in the cultivated part of the island, where there are trees, water, and vegetation. The idea of adding wings to the wretched building of Longwood is every way objectionable; it would be merely enlarging a ruin, and adding the annoyance of workmen for five or six months. All that is wished for at Longwood is repairs; during the last two months the rain has not ceased entering into the rooms of Baron Gourgaud and Count Las Cases,

[1] There certainly seems an inconsistency in saying of the "*dampest country upon earth*" that the soil of part of it is "parched up by the wind." Count Montholon said that the only objection he saw to the situation of Longwood was "the *humidity* of the place." In his famous letter of remonstrance to Sir Hudson Lowe on the 23rd of August, 1816, he said of St. Helena, "it is at the same time the driest and the dampest country in the world."

which renders their lodging extremely unhealthy. A reservoir is necessary, in case of fire; the greater part of the roof being covered with tarred paper, a single spark might set the house in flames. A great quantity of linen and other effects has been rendered useless by the rats, and this for want of closets. The books brought by the Newcastle have been exposed for the last fortnight to similar injury for want of shelves or a floor on which to place them. The simplest mode of supplying all these little wants would, in my opinion, be to charge some head workman with the execution of the necessary repairs, and some upholsterer with the supply and keeping of the furniture in order. If the requisite materials be placed at the disposal of such persons, they understand better than any one else the carrying out of the details.

"Be pleased to accept, Monsieur le Gouverneur, the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be your Excellency's very humble and very obedient servant,

"LE GÉNÉRAL DE MONTHOLON."

To this letter Sir Hudson Lowe replied on the 10th of July, and said,—

"I transmitted an exact copy of your letter to England, so that the British Government will thus be accurately informed of the feelings with which you state General Bonaparte views his present situation at Longwood. I did not make any comment upon his words which you quote to me. Were I to adopt any measure that had in view solely to aggravate the unpleasantness of his situation, I should act in a manner equally repugnant to my instructions as to my own sense of the duty with which I am charged. I shall direct every necessary repair at Longwood, and will

attend there myself to see what may be particularly required. If what appertains to General Bonaparte's place of residence, whether there or elsewhere, has been so long in an unsettled state, it can only be attributed to the little attention with which my communications on the subject have been hitherto received, as I could not act upon conjecture alone."

In transmitting this correspondence to Lord Bathurst, Sir H. Lowe wrote on the 9th of July a letter which shows his readiness to consult the wishes and comfort of Napoleon :—

"In regard to Plantation House," he said, "exclusive of any considerations regarding myself or my family, it formed a specific part of the instructions of the Court of Directors to the Governor when General Bonaparte first came to this island, that all the public buildings on it were to be at the selection of Sir George Cockburn, the *Governor's* (*Plantation House*) *excepted.* In other respects, the objections against Longwood House, as stated in the concluding part of Count Montholon's letter, appear but too well founded. In proposing additions to it, I was rather guided by its situation than by its actual state; for, to make a good permanent residence it would almost require to be rebuilt. Whilst directing the repairs most immediately necessary, my next effort must be to establish him in some other parts of the grounds near Longwood House, or to add to the house that has been constructed for General Bertrand; and if this does not succeed, there are resources in other parts of the island where the same degree of security may be obtained. To none of these, however, will recourse be had until every argument in respect to Longwood has been exhausted;

and I should not perhaps lay so much stress on the objections which he might urge if his present house had not really so many defects as to stand in need of continued reparations, and if it might not appear ungracious, if not contrary to the intention manifested, to withhold from him any of the comforts which Government had sanctioned in sending out a house and furniture for him."

On the 11th of July Sir Hudson Lowe had a conversation with Count Montholon,[1] notes of which were taken by Major Gorrequer:—

"On walking round the house at Longwood, the Governor pointed out to Count Montholon the place where he intended to have erected wings, had it been agreeable to General Bonaparte, and where some excellent rooms might be made. General Montholon said that was also his idea, and most fully agreed it would be the best thing that could be done; there was already '*un fond*' established there, which would require a twelvemonth to make in any other place. On his observing the house had been originally ill constructed, and was a very bad one, Sir Hudson Lowe remarked it was, however, always considered as the second best in the island. He replied, as to the situation, he certainly considered it also as the second

[1] Count Montholon says this interview occurred on the 10th of July; but he does not mention a word about the new house, and states only that the Governor came to him to express his desire to mitigate the rigour of the Emperor's captivity as much as lay in his power; and complained of the manner in which the French officers misunderstood their interests ("*rôle*"). His instructions would, he said, justify him in the eyes of posterity, and if he executed them strictly they would regret their present situation. "Tell the Emperor so; tell him also that I forward all his complaints to my Government, however unjust they may be to myself." (*Récits*, vol. i. p. 325). Not a word on this subject occurs in Major Gorrequer's notes of the conversation.

best. The 'Emperor,' he added, was totally indifferent as to the kind of house, provided it was 'saine;' the only objection he could foresee on his part would be the humidity of the place. As to alterations or additions, he feared he would not like having the workmen so near him, as he could not bear the noise; and things proceeded so very slowly in this island, that they would be a long time in completing—he had been much alarmed on that score—that he therefore doubted his consenting to have repairs or works going on so near him. On the Governor observing to him that the workmen might be employed on the other wing, where they could not disturb him, and when it was ready he might remove into it whilst the other was completing, the Count answered, he had no doubt, on talking with the 'Emperor' about it, he would conclude by saying, 'Et bien, qu'on le fasse' (well, then, let it be done). The Governor said, with regard to Plantation House, it was not left either to the option of the British Government or his own to assign it for his residence; but the Court of Directors had given leave for any other place. General Montholon replied that the 'Emperor' was aware of it, having been so informed at Plymouth; what he had stated, therefore, in his letters to the Governor, had no reference to himself or the Admiral, for they knew it did not depend on either."

On the 19th of July General Montholon stated to Major Gorrequer, that,—

"When the Emperor first heard of the intention of the British Government to curtail the expense of his establishment, he expressed to him that, in the event of any difficulty about it, he would rather bear the whole expense himself than be indebted to Govern-

ment for a part. That he (General Montholon) understood, when the Governor had some conversation with General Bertrand on the subject of such a reduction in the expense, General Bertrand requested that the Governor would inform him what proportion Government expected was to be paid by the 'Emperor,' that he might acquaint him of it. On Major Gorrequer's answering that he did not know whether such a request had been made, General Montholon said that the 'Emperor' had himself told him that he had informed the Governor, at their last interview a few days before, that, if it was expected he should pay a part, he would prefer paying the whole expense of the establishment, provided he was allowed to draw from his own resources through the medium of sealed letters. General Montholon also remarked that the 'Emperor' could easily procure the means of paying for his expenses by drawing upon some of his relations—either Madame (his mother), the Princess Pauline, Prince Joseph, his own son, or Prince Eugene, or some other of his family, for all of whom he had done so much, and who surely would not refuse him 500,000 livres if he applied to them for it, particularly Prince Eugene, to whom the Emperor told him he had in one day made over twenty millions of livres; that, however, the Emperor would only agree to draw for money by means of sealed letters; and that, if the Governor wished to make any proposition in regard to this matter, the Emperor would be ready to receive it. General Montholon added, that General Bonaparte had desired him to ask Major Gorrequer, the next time he had an opportunity of speaking to him on the subject, if Government would pay for the whole of the servants, French and English, or was he to continue paying the French servants only, or should he pay the

whole? that he wished to be informed on these points, in order to take some measures for obtaining a further supply of money; that he (General Montholon) would not have enough to pay the expenses of the next month, as there was scarcely money enough left for paying the salaries of the various persons and attendants belonging to the household out of the 4000 napoleons."

Sir Hudson Lowe had another and extraordinary interview with Napoleon on the 17th of July.[1]

"I was immediately ushered into his presence," he says, "and the room-door shut on us. He was standing, as usual, with his hat under his arm. After an ordinary salutation, I proceeded with saying I was directing some improvements at Longwood, and wished to know if it was a point on which he had any desires to express to me? Instead of replying directly to the subject, he began a very long series of remarks upon the general mode in which he was treated in this island, and the restraints imposed upon him and the persons attached to him. 'It was impossible,' he said, 'Government could know what kind of place the island of St. Helena was, or could approve the mode in which I executed my instructions in regard to him.' I replied, 'that, from the various communications Government had received, the island of St. Helena must be as perfectly known as England itself; and that, with regard to my conduct to him, I was scrupulously particular in informing Ministers of anything I did, but that, if he had any representations to make, I would with great pleasure forward them; that in the

[1] Napoleon's account of this interview is reported by Count Montholon (*Récits*, vol. i. p. 328), by O'Meara (*Voice*, vol. i. pp. 78, 79), and by Count Las Cases (*Journal*, July 16, 1816); all of whom, however, say it occurred on the 16th of July, and their versions, which are brief, differ much from Sir Hudson Lowe's notes.

restrictions that were imposed I only acted in compliance with my instructions, and that I should wholly disobey them if I at the same time did not strive to conciliate their execution with every degree of regard and attention in my power to bestow.' 'Oh!' he said, 'your letters are perfect, the last to Count Montholon are written with great talent. If I were in the Government, I would say, Ah! there now is an officer who does his duty well. But it is not thus that you *act*; you treat us in a very different manner from what you would have it thought. In your correspondence you pay us compliments, and, at the same time, you are sticking pins into us.'[1]

"I told him, as a proof of the sincerity with which I made my communications, I would exactly relate what he then said to me, and leave Government to decide how far my conduct was consistent with what I wrote; that again, if he wished to say anything himself, I would also forward it. He said it was of no use, they would believe my representations. He then entered into more detail; criticised my first acts; said Sir George Cockburn had brought me to him at nine o'clock in the morning on purpose to embroil us together; and that I had acted unfeelingly to ask his officers to sign the paper I did so immediately on my arrival. I said it was difficult to know how to act; that if I had kept it in my pocket I might have been reproached for not having made it known sooner. He made no answer to this. My prevention of General Bertrand's introduction of persons without my previous

[1] "Vos lettres sont parfaites; les dernières au Comte de Montholon sont écrites avec bien de l'esprit. Si j'étais dans le Gouvernement, je dirais, 'Ah! voilà un officier qui fait bien son devoir.' Mais ce n'est pas ainsi que vous *agissez*; vous nous traitez d'une toute autre manière que vous ne voulez faire croire; par votre correspondance vous nous faites des complimens, et vous nous enfoncez en même tems des épingles au dos."

approbation then came on. Sir George Cockburn had admitted it; and now my prevention of his writing notes to inhabitants, without passing through my hands, was also contrary to what Sir George Cockburn had permitted. I said I had done nothing but what was in strict conformity to Sir George Cockburn's written regulations; that if he had suffered deviations I was assured they must have been very partial ones, which did not establish a precedent, otherwise his system of acting must have been different from his written instructions; that in other respects the prevention of communication with any person except through my intervention was one of the pivots on which my instructions turned. He then attacked my letter[1] to Count Bertrand:—'That I should not have put myself into such a passion with him without having first informed him of the established rules; that I had insulted him, and that he ought to have cut my throat (called me out).'[2] I said I did write a very polite letter to him, informing him of the regulations established; that he wrote me a very insulting one in reply, and that I had answered him as I thought he merited—'He had brought it upon himself.'—'He ought to have cut your throat, ... but I did not advise him to do so; you understand.'[3] He then observed, with an air as if he wished to draw my consideration to General Bertrand, 'He is a sedate man well known in Europe; you should not have been so short with him.'[4] I said

[1] Vide pp. 206-8.

[2] "Que je n'aurais pas dû m'emporter tant contre lui, sans premièrement faire connaître les réglemens établis; que je l'avais insulté, et qu'il aurait dû me couper la gorge."

[3] "Il l'avait attiré sur lui-même." "Il aurait dû vous couper la gorge mais je ne l'ai pas conseillé de la faire; vous entendez."

[4] "C'est un homme sérieux, bien connu dans l'Europe; il ne fallait pas tant le brusquer."

he had spoken in his letter of '*abus de pouvoir et injustice.*' I was no more formed to be a little tyrant in practice than a slave in thought. He dropped Count Bertrand, and took up a part of my behaviour to Count Las Cases; said, though letters were sent under open covers to me, it was not supposed I read them; that I had not only read a letter of Count Las Cases', but had afterwards spoken to him of the contents of it, which were wholly of a private nature. I said there could not be a stronger proof of the manner in which matters were misrepresented to him; that on observing in the letter of Count Las Cases he had sent for some articles to England which Government had ordered out here for the use of the establishment, and which I had sent up to Longwood, such as linen, stockings, &c., I thought it an act of attention to call upon him and mention that such articles had been sent up. Instead of testifying any acknowledgment for this act of consideration, he (Las Cases) replied indignantly he did not want anything from the British Government. 'I want things *for myself*, Sir, for myself,'[1] he said, as if it was an insult to offer him articles which had been sent up for general distribution. (This trait of Count Las Cases merits particular attention, as he is known at Longwood as the person about Bonaparte the most ready to misstate and misrepresent matters to him, of which the above is a strong proof.) Bonaparte made no particular answer. He attacked me on other points; recurred to an old story[2] about my having ordered away a servant of Count Montholon's without letting him know of it, which I justified by saying I had seen a stranger at Longwood who was there without my pass, and I had, of course, ordered him away;

[1] "Je veux des choses *pour moi*, Monsieur—pour moi."

[2] Vide p. 181, *ante*.

that I did not know at the time he was engaged by Count Montholon, and sent to him to say that I would get him another servant, but could not permit that man to stay.

"He said, though persons around him had permission to ride accompanied by British officers, yet it so happened they were sometimes obliged to wait two or three hours before an officer could be found. I said this was contrary both to my orders and intention. 'Ah! they thought it was done on purpose. This shows that one may sometimes be mistaken.' He said this as if conscious his officers had attempted to mislead him. He compared Sir George Cockburn and me; said he did not suffer so much from him, with the exception of some little acts of rudeness:—'But you prick us behind our backs; there is no way of treating with you. You are a Lieutenant-General, and should not perform your duty like a sentinel. You ought to consider your reputation, which will suffer from the manner in which you conduct yourself towards us.'[1] I answered, 'I did not come here in search of glory, nor did I solicit the employment; but, being here, I must do my duty, which I esteem above glory;' that I sincerely desired to conciliate my duty with every regard and attention to him; that if I acted otherwise it was equally contrary to my instructions as to my disposition, and would form a fit subject of complaint against me; that I would forward anything he had to say. 'Ah! if, while you load me with chains, your forms are civil, your language may well be so too. It is always with you as with the wolf in the fable: one

[1] "Mais vous nous mettez des épingles au dos. Il n'y a pas moyen de traiter avec vous. Vous êtes Lieutenant-Général—vous ne devez pas exécuter votre devoir comme une consigne. Il fallait penser à votre gloire, qui souffrira de la manière dont vous agissez envers nous."

cannot be in the right with you.'[1] He said there was no necessity of imposing so many restraints upon him; that it was almost impossible he could get away from hence. 'History is made up of possibilities. Persons have escaped from the Bastille, and from the prisons of Magdeburg; but here the chances are ever as 199 to 1. It would be impossible, unless with the connivance of the Governor or of the Admiral.' I made no reply; but took the first opportunity to renew the subject of the repairs at Longwood. He said—'If I had had to answer you officially, I would have asked that a new house be constructed for me; but it would take six years building. In a couple of years there will be a change in the Ministry in England, or a new Government in France, and I shall no longer be here. If, however, I were obliged to remain at this place, I could not live in this house; it would be necessary to build another for me in a more agreeable part of the island.' I told him the situation in which he then was was always considered so. So, he said, all strangers who came to see him observed to him; but he wished shade, and to be sheltered from the wind: he suffered severely, he said, both from the sun and wind, and nothing else in the situation could compensate him for what it exposed him to in these respects.

"He talked of pecuniary means for his present establishment; said he had money enough for everything, in France, in Italy, and Holland; that Prince Eugene would, he was assured, give him any money he wanted; but that he did not like to send letters unopened [unsealed?]. He asked me what the Commissioners wanted here. If they wished to see

[1] "Ah! si vous me mettez des chaînes à la jambe, et me dites des politesses en même temps, vous pourrez dire de même. C'est toujours avec vous la fable du loup et de l'agneau—on ne peut pas avoir raison."

him officially, why did not they send him the Convention,[1] when he would consider the matter? if as private individuals, they might present themselves to Marshal Bertrand, and he would see them. He asked me if the Countess Bertrand went to visit the Marquis de Montchenu, would she be allowed to see him. "I do not know what the Marquis de Montchenu may do,' I said; 'that will depend upon him.' He said, she only wanted to have some news of her mother; that her note to the Marquis was about nothing else—'some woman's gossip, to which I could not object."[2] He recurred to complaints of his position in this island —of his health; said it was impossible Government could know the disagreeableness of his situation in every respect; that they could not approve my mode of treating him; that my letters must represent matters differently, &c. &c. I said I could do nothing more than represent to Government everything he said; that they knew perfectly well the restrictions he was under, and could best determine whether his situation admitted any change; that I only begged him to be assured I did not wish to aggravate what was unpleasant in his situation, and should be always happy to show attention to every request he made which was not incompatible with the main object of the duty I was charged with. He bowed to me; and I retired."

Nothing can more strongly show the straightforward fairness of Sir Hudson Lowe than his minute of this conversation. If he had been disposed to give a garbled version of it he certainly would have

[1] The Convention between the Allied Powers relative to the disposal of Napoleon, which will be found at the end of the volume amongst the Letters and Documents.

[2] "Quelques commérages de femme, auxquels je ne devrais pas m'opposer."

omitted Napoleon's twice-repeated sarcasm about his "sticking pins into the backs" of his captives, and the remark that although his letters were perfect his conduct was very different. For the Ministry at home could of course only judge of the manner in which he fulfilled his duties by the accounts he gave in his letters; and they were deprived of all value if his conduct did not correspond with his professions.

Sir Hudson transmitted the whole of the above in a despatch to Earl Bathurst of the 27th of July, and said,—

"The conversation that passed I have given in a separate memorandum. Your Lordship will observe by it that no expectation seems to have been entertained or made known of any immediate change in his place of residence; but that, if his stay was constantly fixed at this place, he should consider the construction of another and better house in a more agreeable part of the island necessary both for his health and his comfort. Whether a new house is built for him or not, the repairs at his present place of residence are indispensable; and therefore little time is lost in making a reference to your Lordship's judgment as to the expediency of constructing a new house, should he require it, in a part of the island more agreeable to him. The spot which unites the most advantages is a place called Rosemary Hall. It lies about a mile from Plantation House, in one of the most beautiful and cultivated parts of the island. It is not far distant from some of the valleys and ravines which descend to the sea; but all these are guarded, and the security of his person within the limits that may be assigned to him can be as effectually obtained as in his present place of residence. He would be more open to receive visits, and if he was to escape from his limits he might

possibly sooner find the means of concealment, if not of evasion; but the difference hardly appears to me so great as to overbalance every other consideration regarding his comfort or his health, particularly as, if doomed to a constant residence in this island, there is no spot which unites so many advantages to reconcile him to it. . . . .

"On the point of pecuniary means your Lordship will remark what he has said. Prince Eugene is the only person whom he spoke of to me as probably disposed to answer his demands; but by a conversation which Major Gorrequer, acting as my Military Secretary, had with Count Montholon, your Lordship will observe other individuals have been named, even his son. So many channels of communication are opened to your Lordship with these persons, that the question of pecuniary means for his establishment now appears to be one of the least embarrassing regarding him, if his relations and former friends feel the sentiments which he supposes they do respecting him.

"Your Lordship will observe the bitter remarks he made as to my mode of treatment of him. I shall be extremely concerned if I have misinterpreted, either in word or spirit, your Lordship's instructions to me. If I have done so, it has been wholly undesigned; and, attacked as I have been by him, though not, I think, with the same asperity now as in the first instance, I owe it to myself to state what are my own conscious feelings on the occasion: that I have been myself most unjustly and harshly treated by him in more than one instance; while from a sentiment of public duty, which has allowed no private consideration whatever to interfere, I have abstained from any possible act or expression which I thought could give offence, and that my sins towards him have been solely those

of having executed my instructions, not in all cases according to their strict letter, from which my predecessor had suffered some not very material deviations, but tempering everything that was unavoidably harsh in them with as much regard to his personal feelings and comforts as their nature could possibly admit. If this has not been my practice, it has been at least the principle on which I have strove to regulate myself; and if the object has not been attained, it can have resulted only from defects in the manner. Your Lordship will best judge if the irksomeness of his situation admits in any case of being softened or ameliorated. . . . .

"On the subject of any amelioration of his present position, as to relief from internal restraints in the island, I can hardly presume to offer your Lordship any suggestion. His principal grievances are—

"1stly. That his limits for riding, unaccompanied by a British officer, are too circumscribed.

"2ndly. That he cannot communicate with persons on the island without my intervention.

"3rdly. That he cannot send home letters unopened.

"4thly. That the officers and persons attached to him are subject to the same restrictions as himself, and cannot communicate with, or write notes to, persons on the island without my leave.

"5thly. The complaints against Longwood, his present place of residence.

"On the first point, I may possibly be able to allow of some variation in, rather than extension of, his present limits; but should your Lordship authorise me to give him any further range during *the day* in the interior of the island, I should deem it advisable that the instruction to such effect was accompanied by an

injunction to adopt additional precautions during the night, as by the regulations established by Sir George Cockburn, after a great deal of discussion between them on the subject, the sentries are not mounted round his house until nine o'clock in the night, and the interval between dark and that hour is consequently a very anxious one. As he sometimes walks about in his gardens after dark, and does not dine till past eight, these have been the reasons to which Sir George Cockburn yielded in not having the sentries posted until nine.

"To the second cause of complaint, I am not aware he is under any difficulty of communicating with whomever it is proper to communicate with: I have never been rigid in preventing access to him from proper persons.

"On the third complaint your Lordship's judgment will best determine.

"The situation of the officers, as referred to in the fourth article, is a very peculiar one. There is not one of them who has not shown a disposition to elude the execution of the established regulations, and abuse the indulgences granted them—but none more so than the one from whom I least expected it, the Count Las Cases; who, feeling his own confinement here miserable and wretched, is known to be constantly increasing the irritation of Bonaparte's mind by all manner of complaints and misrepresentations, and has recently had a quarrel with General Gourgaud on this very ground. They are, besides, all at variance together,[1] and, I feel almost assured, give Bonaparte

[1] There can be no doubt as to the unhappy terms upon which the French lived with each other at Longwood. Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Jackson, who resided there for some time with the orderly officer, says, "The Court of Longwood, like the *entourage* of more powerful sovereigns, was not free from jealousies, envy, and much uncharitable-

himself more disquiet than comfort. General Bertrand has requested he would not charge him to write any more letters of complaint to me. Generals Montholon and Gourgaud appear at present the most in his good graces; but this may be only temporary. The greatest difficulty I have is in regard to my conduct with the ladies of the establishment. Any restriction upon them is affected to be considered as an offence against the delicacy and respect due to their rank and sex; while I have, at the same time, incontestible proof that Bonaparte does not hesitate to make them the instruments of all manner of communications which the men themselves could not so conveniently meddle with.

"The fifth and last subject of complaint I have fully adverted to in the preceding letter; and your Lordship will best be able to determine upon it from its perusal. If anything could possibly reconcile him to this island, it is certainly having a comfortable house and an agreeable country around it. He may possibly give the preference hereafter to Longwood; but, otherwise, the place I have mentioned is best suited for him. There is an advantage in a change to which I did not before advert—that it might break any plans he might form from a knowledge of the environs of his place of residence."

---

ness. . . . . Generals Bertrand and Montholon were never on friendly terms, while the latter and Gourgaud were at openly avowed enmity; and it is a fact that the two ladies, the Countesses Bertrand and De Montholon, only interchanged formal calls perhaps once or twice a-year." (*United Service Magazine*, October, 1843, p. 265.) These disagreements are also mentioned by Count Montholon (*Récits*, vol. i. p. 305), and repeatedly by Count Las Cases in his Journal. Napoleon found much difficulty in preserving order among his followers, who proceeded so far as to challenge each other. General Gourgaud's situation was made so miserable by Count Montholon that he was obliged to leave Longwood, and he returned to Europe in March, 1818, as will be afterwards detailed.

The proceedings of the Foreign Commissioners respecting Bonaparte occasioned Sir Hudson Lowe much trouble and embarrassment. They considered it to be their duty to see Bonaparte himself, and he was determined not to grant them an interview in their official capacity.[1] The Governor in consequence was constantly applied to by them to interfere in their behalf; and he did use every effort in his power to facilitate to the Commissioners the means of seeing Bonaparte, although the Convention merely said that they were to assure themselves of his presence; and Sir Hudson Lowe had no instructions to bring about a personal interview.

The repugnance of Napoleon to receive them will appear from the following letter of the Governor to Sir Henry Bunbury on the 29th of July:—

"My dear Sir,

"Every step has been taken that depends on me to counteract the effects of the plotting which you give me reason to apprehend, by your letter of the 4th of May, is going on at the Brazils for the attempted liberation of my prisoner; but it is by an additional number of small cruizing vessels, rather than by any other means, the projects of the persons you mention are most likely to be defeated, and I believe Sir Pulteney Malcolm writes to this effect. A vessel appearing far to windward of the island could with difficulty be reconnoitred by the small brigs which now cruize at each extremity of it, and I really consider a small corvette well to windward as essential to prevent the approach of any suspicious vessel. There is hardly any obstacle otherwise to their coming in close to the

[1] The Russian Commissioner gave the least trouble. His instructions did not require him to *see* Bonaparte.

shore during the night-time, sending in a boat, and disappearing before the morning. Internal precautions are of course taken to guard against this; but the most perfect one it appears to me is that which I have suggested. I have transmitted Earl Bathurst a memorandum of my last conference with Napoleon. He abused me, but with much less asperity than before. His conversation abounded with repetitions. I involuntarily fell back during one or two pauses towards the door, when he renewed the attack, sidled himself almost between me and the door, and could not have done the thing more cunningly had he a design to prevent my escaping from him. He never looked me in the face; and I had therefore for a long two hours the opportunity of closely observing him. He will not, I believe, see the Commissioners. He says, not all the powers in Europe shall compel him to receive them officially; that they may break open his doors if they will, and what then? . . . . . He has no objection to see them privately, and they are sick with their desire of seeing him; but I am not much disposed to be an instrument for gratifying the wishes of either party, except in the strictly official way. Sir Pulteney Malcolm has had very long conversations with Bonaparte, and *appears* much in his good graces. I have, &c.

"H. LOWE."

CHAPTER VI.

O'MEARA'S LETTERS TO SIR THOMAS READE — COMPLAINTS RESPECTING PROVISIONS — QUESTION OF REDUCTION OF EXPENSES AT LONGWOOD — SIR HUDSON LOWE'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON — LETTER OF REMONSTRANCE FROM COUNT MONTHOLON, AND COMMENTS BY THE GOVERNOR — CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SUBJECT OF PASSES TO LONGWOOD SIGNED BY COUNT BERTRAND.

WE now turn to O'Meara's correspondence; and if we compare his letters to Sir Thomas Reade, written during this month, with the Journal which he afterwards published, and which *professes* to be a faithful record of events and conversations written down at the time they occurred, we shall want little further proof of the baseness and dishonesty of that work.

A horse belonging to him having fallen ill, he applied for permission to purchase one of the mules which had arrived for the East India Company, and he thus wrote on the 8th of July :—

"Dear Sir Thomas,

"After I had the pleasure of hearing from you yesterday the very kind manner in which Sir Hudson Lowe was pleased to consider and approve of my application, and his very obliging offer of one of his own horses in the interim, I met Captain Mansel, and, in the course of conversation, asked him if there was a superabundance of mules for the service, and was answered that one might be spared very well, without the least injury to the public service, as there were more than sufficient for the work required. I told

Bonaparte yesterday about a peace having been effected between the Barbary powers and all the states of Europe by Lord Exmouth's active measures, except the Pope's states and those of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who had both refused the mediation of the English. He said that it ought to have been done long ago; that it was a disgrace to the powers of Europe, especially to the English, to have allowed such contemptible bands of pirates to roam about to obstruct the commerce of the world, who might have been so easily crushed by England and France; but, continued he, there was some political reason for it. He said he could not believe that the Pope and Grand Duke could have refused the mediation of England—that men could have been so weak; it must have been some other political reason. He also said that it was a humiliation to allow any ransom to be paid for the prisoners; but he acknowledged that a great service had been rendered to the world and to humanity if the Barbarians fulfilled the treaty. He then asked, 'What are those *coglioni* the Commissioners doing in the town?' Asked about Madame Stürmer. I said that she was, I believed, the handsomest, or *one* of the handsomest women in the island. 'What,' said he, 'is she handsomer than Lady Lowe?' He asked about Montchenu, and repeated, 'Poor fool! poor old fool!'[1] and 'poor fool!' two or three times, with an air of contempt. 'And that *coglionaccio* his aide-de-camp, what does he do?' I said I believed he walked up and down the streets with his master. 'Ah! poor fool,' said he, laughing; and afterwards, 'Poor imbecile lacquey!'[2]

"Somebody told Madame Bertrand (I believe Piont-

[1] "Povero coglione, povero vecchio coglione."

[2] "Ah! povero minchione," "Ragazzaccio, povero imbecile."

kowski) that nobody was to go near her without a pass; that she was precisely in the same way as those at Longwood; that none of the servants, &c., would be allowed to enter the house,—which put her in a grievous taking for some time, until it was explained to her how matters really were. She said also that Bonaparte had ordered a very violent letter to be written yesterday to Sir Hudson by Montholon, accusing him of having no heart, &c. &c.; and that one of a similar nature, of five pages, had been ordered to be written by Gourgaud, but that her husband had torn it.[1] She said she did not know whether Montholon had put Bonaparte's expressions in the letter, but that they were very violent. She also says that De Las Cases is the principal person who sets him so much against Sir Hudson; that he says the English Government have sent two sharks out here to devour them,—one Sir George Cockburn, and the other Sir Hudson. I remain, &c. "BARRY E. O'MEARA.

"De Las Cases himself told me that, if a sealed letter could be sent, they would prefer a complaint against Sir Hudson to the Prince Regent!"

The following letter is especially deserving of attention, and the passages here marked in italics, while they stamp O'Meara's book with falsehood, furnish the true explanation of the calumnies of which Sir Hudson Lowe was the object:—

"Dear Sir Thomas, "Longwood, July 10, 1816.

"You will oblige me by sending up to me the paper you showed me last Monday, containing Bertrand's letter, which he is very anxious to see, not-

[1] Count Bertrand's efforts to prevent Napoleon from sending irritating letters to the Governor are frequently mentioned by Count Montholon.

withstanding being informed that it would be very hurtful to his feelings. I understand from *Madame* that *they have it in contemplation here to forward a letter of complaint against Sir Hudson to England (by what channel I did not understand), containing, no doubt, divers untruths, and praying he may be recalled.* You had better give Sir Hudson a hint about it, but let it be between you and him only; as, though I have some reason to think that some plot is hatching, I am not quite sure of it, and any premature disclosure of it would not be the thing. I believe I was pretty right in the information I gave you about Montchenu's letter. Montholon has been very busy finding out the price of every article used in the house, which he carefully committed to paper. He keeps a register of every article in the eating and drinking way which arrives.

"He has been making great complaints to-day, and, I am sorry to say, with reason. He made an agreement with Cole or Fowler to try if fifty pounds of beef daily would do, with a whole sheep and nine fowls. Yesterday 100 lbs. of beef came up, and only three fowls about the size of crows; to-day, three quarters of mutton, and five fowls of the same magnitude nearly, and no beef; and was it not for the turtle sent up by the Admiral, and a pig shot yesterday by General Gourgaud (which was rooting up the garden, and for which he paid afterwards four pounds), they would not have enough to eat. Since the day you were up here in the tent, and had some conversation with Montholon, they have not had either champagne or vin de Grave, and Montholon says that Bonaparte has frequently asked for both. *They are sufficiently malignant to impute all these things to the Governor, instead of setting them down as being owing to the neglect*

or carelessness of some of Balcombe's people. Every little circumstance is carried directly to Bonaparte, with every aggravation that malignity and falsehood can suggest to evil-disposed and cankered minds.

"You recollect that you told me that they might purchase fowls, and send the bills to Balcombe to be paid. Yesterday that was done, and payment refused, and the memorandum, containing a bill for fowls, fish, eggs, vegetables, and some other articles, sent back unpaid, and Montholon says perhaps Balcombe has not been ordered to pay them, officially, without being looked at. *All these circumstances are construed by them into insults personally directed to them.* Poppleton would have gone over to Sir Hudson to represent matters to him, as it was too long for a letter. I believe he will go to-morrow. I remain, &c.

"BARRY E. O'MEARA.

"P.S. Montholon has been at me two or three times about the library. He says they are obliged to put the dishes on the floor in the dining-room, as the tables have been taken away in order to put the books on them."

On the 12th he wrote amongst immaterial gossip,—

"Madame Bertrand told me yesterday that De Las Cases had said 'that the Emperor was his god!—the object of his veneration and adoration!' This she desired me not to mention. I forgot to tell it to Sir Hudson yesterday: I dare say it will make him smile."

The next letter might make the reader "smile," were he not likely to be offended with its flippancy, and still more with its indecency, if it were proper to print the whole. This however is impossible.

"My dear Sir Thomas, "Longwood, July 24, 1816.

"Montholon has at last finally evacuated his rooms, and preparations are making in order to convert the large apartment into a library, and the two small ones destined for Piontkowski, for which purpose a window is breaking out to windward of the closet, and the door of communication between it and the large room is to be built up. Piontkowski's present room is to be made an office of for the confectionery, as the smoke of the present one destroys the furniture in the house. Great dissensions and civil commotions between De Las Cases and Gourgaud (the latter backed by Montholon) about the rooms. Both applied to Bonaparte in urgent terms to get them, but Nap. very wisely settled it like Pope Leo, by taking them *himself*. Montholon cannot conceal his joy at the failure of De Las Cases, and for the present is triumphant; 'but the Jesuit ever worketh worketh underhand, speaketh little and mischievously, and at last will make his way like a mouse in a cheese.'[1] They wish to have the other two small libraries sent up as soon as possible in order to finally arrange the library-room; and I have been requested to apply to you for them, as the room will be ready to receive them to-morrow. A lieutenant and party of seamen are busy in putting up the covering of the arbour in the garden, but they will require, I fancy, about 400 yards more of canvas.

"Napoleon yesterday appeared very melancholy and scarcely said a word. He afterwards went into Montholon's new rooms, where he remained from six until a quarter past eight. This will make Madame Bertrand as jealous as the deuce, though I believe the

[1] "Ma il Gesuito sempre travaglia travaglia sotto mano, parla poco e male, ed alla fine riuscira come topo nel formaggio."

real reason of it is that he has no other room to sit in until the chimney is finished or the library put to rights. Madame Montholon however exults much at the favour shown unto her, and *actually putteth on two extra gowns daily*[1] in consequence thereof. . . . ."

The letter concludes with a libellous remark about Madame Montholon, and with an indelicate anecdote, which O'Meara says he had heard from Madame Bertrand, and requests that it may not be made known, "unless to the select, as Madame hears everything."

On the 27th of July he wrote again to Sir Thomas Reade,—

"No news here. Napoleon told me yesterday that the Duke of Fitzjames was a disgrace to human nature. I told him about old Montchenu wanting to embrace Mrs. Martin: I never saw him laugh so much before. He said he supposed . . . ."

The communications of Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer at Longwood, are material, not only on account of the information they contain, but because he afterwards came forward as one of the supporters of O'Meara when Sir Hudson Lowe instituted criminal proceedings against the latter.

It was one of the charges brought against the British Government, and one of the most frequent complaints at Longwood, that the provisions were bad in quality; and there seems at times to have been good ground for finding fault. But neither the Government nor Sir Hudson Lowe was to be blamed for the occasional neglect or inability of the purveyor to provide what was so difficult to procure in the island, an abundant supply of good meat. On the

[1] The passage in italics is underlined in the original.

5th of July Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer, wrote to the Governor,—

"The beef sent to Longwood yesterday was not eatable; it was returned; the mutton sent was likewise returned. I wrote a letter to the person who has contracted to serve Longwood with beef, and I made a signal to the purveyors, but no meat arrived; they purchased a number of fowls in lieu. I have always endeavoured to remedy or redress any complaints of the foreigners at Longwood; and when the above complaint was made, I endeavoured to remedy it without reference to yourself, but, as my efforts were useless, I mention the circumstance to you, conceiving that my name may hereafter be brought into question as refusing to listen to their grievances; and knowing well that the smallest opening for a complaint would be eagerly laid hold of."[1]

Some circumstances are said to have occurred at Longwood in July of which no mention is made in

[1] The subjoined note from the person who supplied Longwood with beef shows that he thought the French so "very difficult to please" that he gave up the contract:—

"Sir, "Prospect Hall, July 20, 1816.

"I am sorry that any complaint should be made against me about the beef. General Montholon is very difficult to please; therefore, to prevent any further complaint, shall from this day decline killing any more for General Bonaparte. They have beef for to-day and to-morrow.—I am, Sir, your obedient, humble servant, J. LEGG."

And the following note from Major Gorrequer shows the attention paid to complaints respecting the quality of provisions:—

"Plantation House, August 4, 1816.

"Major Gorrequer's compliments to Mr. Balcombe, and begs he will make the best arrangements he can to supply the establishment at Longwood with vegetables of the best quality and upon the most economical plan. As those which were heretofore furnished from town were represented by General de Montholon as unfit to be served up at table, it will be necessary Mr. Balcombe would be good enough to give directions that those which are hereafter supplied should be of a kind not to give cause for complaint."

Sir Hudson Lowe's papers. On the 4th and 25th Sir Pulteney Malcolm had interviews with Napoleon,[1] and, according to Count Montholon, told him that during the battle of Waterloo the Duke of Wellington, thinking the day lost, and that he was fighting no longer for victory, but was making a last effort to secure an honourable retreat, sent orders to him (Sir Pulteney Malcolm) to prepare everything for the re-embarkation of the English army, when the Prussians appeared on his left and decided the battle! The most remarkable event, however, was the determination which Santini, one of Bonaparte's servants, is represented to have expressed of shooting Sir Hudson Lowe in revenge for his conduct towards the ex-Emperor.[2]

As it became necessary, in pursuance of his instructions, that Sir Hudson Lowe should make some reductions in the expense of the establishment at Longwood, he considered it desirable to ascertain Bonaparte's wishes on the subject. He accordingly called at Longwood on the 16th of August, and was told that Napoleon was in his bath; but on mentioning the object of his visit, Count Montholon communicated it to Napoleon, and he referred Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand. Failing to find Count Bertrand at home, Sir Hudson called upon him again the next day, and told him that he had, in consequence of the arrangement which had taken place with the view of curtailing the expenses of the establishment, been able to reduce them in a certain degree; but that, notwithstanding, he could not bring them down to anything like the sum fixed upon by Government, *viz.* 8000*l.* per annum. He said that Ministers had probably, when

[1] Voice, vol. i. p. 69; Récits, vol. i. pp. 319-20; Journal, Aug. 25, 1816.
[2] Voice, vol. ii. p. 390; Récits, vol. i. p. 406.

this sum was fixed on, supposed that some of the officers and attendants might have availed themselves of the offer made to them upon his arrival of returning to Europe, and had not calculated upon the number of which the establishment was still composed; at the same time he added that he doubted whether the knowledge of this circumstance would make any difference in regard to the sum fixed by Government. He then handed to Count Bertrand a statement which he had caused to be prepared. What follows is taken from Major Gorrequer's minutes of the interview.

"General Bertrand then looked over the statement and said, 'Very well; I will speak to the Emperor about it, and will tell him what you have just said to me;' and in a tone and manner indicative of much warmth and resentment he began making remarks upon the restrictions placed on General Bonaparte repecting his correspondence. 'If the Emperor could make it known in Europe that the English Government could not afford to defray the expenses of his house at St. Helena, he would probably find resources there (this appeared to be said as an ironical reflection on Government); but as all intercourse has been interdicted by prohibiting him from sending or receiving any but open letters, it is impossible he can communicate on his personal affairs with those to whom he has confided them.' He was proceeding in a train of reflections on this point with great acrimony, when the Governor interrupted it by saying, 'Sir, I did not come here to enter into these details; I have had a conversation on the subject of the expenses in question with General Bonaparte himself, as also with Count Montholon, and neither the one nor the other has made any difficulty about the mode of obtaining funds; on the contrary, General Montholon, who has

occupied himself a great deal about the expenses of the house, and who has greatly assisted me in diminishing them, has repeatedly signified to me that General Bonaparte wished me to speak to him frankly on the subject.' General Bertrand upon this immediately handed back the statement he had received from the Governor, saying, in an intemperate manner, 'Very well; you can give this paper to Count Montholon. As for me, Monsieur le Gouverneur, I desire to have as little communication with you as possible, either personally or in writing.' The Governor immediately left his chair and quitted the room, saying, 'And I can assure you, Sir, that wish is quite reciprocal on my part.'[1]

Sir Hudson Lowe proceeded immediately to Longwood to acquaint Bonaparte with the manner in which he had been treated by Count Bertrand; but, being again told that Napoleon was in his bath (which was his usual excuse when he was unwilling to see any one), he wrote to Count Montholon a letter on the 17th, in which he said,—

"The instructions I have received from the British Government direct me to limit the expenditure of General Bonaparte's establishment to 8000*l.* per annum: they give me liberty at the same time to admit of any further expense being incurrred, which he may require, as to table and so forth, beyond what this sum would cover, provided he furnishes the funds whereby the surplus charges may be defrayed. I am now therefore under the necessity of requesting you would make known to him the impossibility I am under of bringing the expenses of his household, on

[1] Major Gorrequer has given, in his minutes, the conversation in French, as it was carried on in that language.

its present establishment in point of numbers, within the limits prescribed, unless I make such a reduction under several heads as might materially abridge the conveniences which the persons around him now enjoy; and having been already very frankly informed by him as well as by yourself that he has at his disposition, in various parts of Europe, means whereby the extra, or even the whole, expense may be defrayed, I beg leave to request being informed, previous to attempting any further considerable reduction, which might prove inconvenient to him or to the persons of his suite, if he is content such an attempt should be made, or if he is willing to place at my command sufficient funds to meet the extra charges which must otherwise be unavoidably incurred."[1]

On Sunday the 18th of August Sir Hudson Lowe had a fifth and *last* interview with Bonaparte, and his account of what took place is of great interest:[2]—

[1] This letter is printed by O'Meara in the Appendix to his work, and is described by him (*Voice*, vol. i. p. 92) as "*making a demand* of 12,000*l.* a-year for the maintenance of Napoleon and suite." Two statements accompanied this letter—the one an estimate by Mr. Ibbetson, the head of the Commissariat department, which amounted to 19,152*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*, and the other by Major Gorrequer, which amounted to 19,450*l.*, as the sum requisite for the yearly table expenses.

[2] Sir Pulteney Malcolm was present at this conversation, and "on coming away," says Sir Hudson Lowe, "the Admiral complimented me on the particular clearness of my first statement to him [Bonaparte] and my replies; and, on my asking him if I had said too much to him, he remarked, —'You precisely said what I might have done, and no more.'" Sir Pulteney Malcolm afterwards wrote the following note to Sir Hudson Lowe:

"My dear Sir, "Briars, August 30.

"In my letter to Lord Melville I have said that I have read your statement to Lord Bathurst of the interview that we had with Bonaparte on the 17th instant, and that your account of the conversation is perfectly correct. My imperfect knowledge of the French language prevents me from giving so exact an account of the various expressions. I therefore referred Lord Melville to Lord Bathurst for the details, which you had given in so clear and correct a manner that I could vouch for every one of them.—I have, &c., PULTENEY MALCOLM."

"Having called at Longwood in company with Sir Pulteney Malcolm, we found General Bonaparte was walking in his garden. He went off immediately as he saw us; but having inquired for Count Montholon, and sent a message by him to say we were there, Bonaparte returned to the garden, and the Admiral and myself joined him. He spoke solely to the Admiral, in which I made no attempt to interrupt him, but, profiting by the first interval of silence, I commenced and addressed him as follows:—That I was sorry to be under the necessity of saying anything which tended to incommode him, but I was placed under such peculiar circumstances, from the conduct towards me of General Bertrand, that it became a matter of indispensable necessity I should make known the details of it to him, and endeavour to establish some rule for my future communications in regard to his affairs. He was aware of the instructions I had received from my own Government in regard to the expenses of his establishment."

Sir Hudson Lowe related to him what had occurred between Counts Montholon and Bertrand on the subject, and described Count Bertrand's rude demeanour and offensive expressions. He then observed to Napoleon—

"It was obvious, after this, I could have no further communication with General Bertrand, and I thought it proper to call and acquaint him of it; that, whatever might have been General Bertrand's personal feelings towards me, I called upon him by the desire of the person whom he acknowledged as his Emperor to speak of *his* business; that it was a failure of respect to him as well as to me; that I wished in consequence to learn with whom it was his desire I should

in future communicate on questions of such nature in regard to his affairs. General Bonaparte made no reply for so considerable a space of time that I thought he did not mean to speak at all; but, finally, in a hollow, angry tone of voice, commenced a string of remarks to the following purport, addressing himself entirely to the Admiral:—

"'General Bertrand is a man who has commanded armies, and he treats him as if he were a corporal; he is a man well known throughout Europe, and he (the Governor) had no right to insult him. He did perfectly right in speaking about the prohibition against sending letters, and was justified in engaging in a discussion on that subject. He (Sir Hudson Lowe) treats us all as if we were deserters from the Royal Corsican or some Italian regiment; he has insulted Marshal Bertrand, and he deserved what the Marshal said to him.' I repeated what I had said in a former conversation—that General Bertrand had first insulted me; that in the conversation which had passed nothing could be more temperate and moderate than my language to him, as could be testified by my military secretary, who was present at the interview; that I had said nothing which, in tone or manner, could justify the reply he gave to me. He recommenced his reproaches of my having written insulting letters to General Bertrand, and provoked him to say to me what he did. I again referred to his having first written an insulting one to me; that he had said I rendered his (Bonaparte's) situation 'affreuse;'[1] had accused me of 'abus de pouvoir et injustice.' I then added, 'I am a subject of a free government. Every kind of despotism and tyranny I hold in abhorrence,

[1] Vide p. 205, *ante*.

and I will repel every accusation of my conduct in this respect as a calumny against him whom it is impossible to attack with the arms of truth.' He stopped a little on my making this observation, but soon resumed, addressing himself to the Admiral, and with language more bitter than before: 'There are two kinds of people,' he said, 'employed by Governments —those whom they honour, and those whom they dishonour; he is one of the latter; the situation they have given him is that of an executioner.' I answered, 'I perfectly understand this kind of manœuvre—endeavour to brand with infamy, if one cannot attack with other arms. I am perfectly indifferent to all this. I did not seek my present employment; but, it being offered to me, I considered it a sacred duty to accept it.'—'Then,' said he, 'if the order were given you to assassinate me, you would accept it.'—'No, Sir.' He again proceeded (to the Admiral), and said I had rendered his situation forty times worse than it was before my arrival; that, though he had some disputes with Sir George Cockburn, he always treated him in a different manner; that they were content with each other, but that I did not know how to conduct myself towards men of honour; that I had put General Bertrand under arrest in his own house; and had taken away from him the permission to give passes to Longwood. The Admiral said it was Sir George Cockburn who had done this. Bonaparte replied, 'No, Sir; he told you so' (alluding to me), 'but it is not true.' The Admiral again told him it was not me, but Sir George Cockburn, had told him so. Bonaparte then said he could not even write a billet de galanterie to my Lady Malcolm without my seeing it; that he could not now have a woman come to see him without my permission; and that he could

not see the Lieutenant-Colonel and the officers of the 53rd. I interrupted him here by saying he had refused to see the Lieutenant-Colonel and the officers of the 66th regiment. If they wanted to see him, he answered, why did they not apply to the 'Grand Maréchal'? I had mentioned it to General Bertrand, I observed. 'But the Lieutenant-Colonel ought to have spoken to him, and not to you.' He again broke out into invectives on my mode of treatment; said I had no feeling; that the soldiers of the 53rd looked upon him with compassion, and wept ('pleuraient') when they passed him. Continuing, he said to the Admiral, 'He kept back a book which had been sent me by a Member of Parliament, and then boasted of it.'—'How boasted of it?' I exclaimed, struck with the falsehood of the assertion. 'Yes, Sir' (interrupting me), 'you boasted of it to the Governor of the island of Bourbon;[1] he told me so. You took hold of him' (he said), 'on his arrival here, and made him believe that you were on the best footing with us all, and treated us all particularly well; but this was not true.' He was proceeding with a further repetition of what had passed between Colonel Keating and him, when the Admiral interrupted him with a defence of my not having sent the book to him; said a book with such an inscription on it I could not send, and that I ought not to have been made the instrument of delivering it to him. The Admiral added, 'Colonel Keating was wrong in mentioning such a thing to him.'

[1] See p. 193. Colonel Keating, who is here alluded to, denied in the strongest terms that he had made any such communication to Napoleon. It was one of O'Meara's accusations against Sir Hudson Lowe that he reported this affair to Earl Bathurst unknown to Colonel Keating (*Exposition*, p. 147). This is untrue. In a despatch to Lord Bathurst, dated August 29, 1816, Sir H. Lowe, speaking of that officer, said, "I enclose a letter to inform him of what Bonaparte said."

'Yes,' he said, 'in one to boast of it, and the other to repeat it.' He then remarked that I had sent letters to him with the title of Emperor. 'Yes,' replied I, 'but they came from the Secretary of State's office, and were from your own relations or former subjects, and not from English persons. I am personally acquainted with the gentleman who sent the book; he left it to my choice to send it or not, and I am certain he will fully approve of what I did in not sending it.' He paused at this, and dropped the topic. He again addressed himself to the Admiral; accused me of having published the contents of a letter he had received from his mother. The Admiral defended me; said he knew I never published the contents of any private letters received from his family. I replied, it was not me that had done so; it must have been his own people that did it; that everything was misrepresented to him. 'You have *bad people about you*, Sir,'[1] I said. The Admiral shortly afterwards repeated a similar remark, saying, 'You have bad people around you.'[2] He appeared to me struck at both our observations in this respect, and made no attempt to reply, but went on again in his strain of invective, general and personal; told me, as he had done once before, 'You are a Lieutenant-General, but you perform your duty as if you were a sentinel; there is no dealing with you; you are a most intractable man. If you are afraid that I should escape, why do you not bind me?' I answered, I merely executed my instructions; that, if my conduct was disapproved of, I might be readily removed. 'Your instructions are the same as Sir George Cockburn's,' he replied; 'he told me they were the same.' He

[1] "Vous êtes *mal environné*, Monsieur."
[2] "Vous êtes mal entouré."

said he was to be treated as a prisoner of war; that the Ministers had no right to treat him in any other way than as prescribed by the Act of Parliament; that the nation was disposed to treat him well, but Ministers acted otherwise; accused me of being a mere instrument of the blind hatred of Lord Bathurst. I remarked, 'Lord Bathurst, Sir, does not know what blind hatred (*haine aveugle*) is.' He talked about our calling him General; said he was 'Empereur;' that, when England and Europe should be no more, and no such name known as Lord Bathurst, he would still be Emperor. He told me he always went out of the way to avoid me, and had twice pretended to be in the bath that he might not see me. 'You want money; I have none, except in the hands of my friends; but I cannot send my letters.' He attacked me about the note which had been sent back to Count Bertrand, saying, 'You had no right to put him under arrest; you never commanded armies; you were nothing but the scribe of an Etat-Major. I had imagined I should be well among the English, but you are not an Englishman.' He was continuing in this strain, when I interrupted him with saying, 'You make me smile, Sir.' 'How smile, Sir?' he replied, at the same time turning round with surprise at the remark, and, looking at me, added, 'I say what I think.' 'Yes, Sir,' I answered, with a tone indicative of the sentiment I felt, and looking at him, 'you force me to *smile*; your misconception of my character and the rudeness of your manners excite my *pity*. I wish you good day;' and I left him (evidently a good deal embarrassed) without any other salutation.

"The Admiral quitted him immediately afterwards with a salute of the hat."

Sir Hudson Lowe afterwards made the following

additions to, and remarks upon, this conversation:—

"In the course of the conversation he said,—'My body is in your power, but my soul is free;' that I treated him like a Botany-Bay convict—'Europe shall know of it.' I replied, 'I shall be well pleased that everything relating to my conduct be published, not only in the English newspapers, but in those of the Continent.' During the long course of his invectives against me, which were principally addressed to the Admiral, he was frequently interrupted by him with the observation that he was misinformed altogether about my proceedings; that I desired nothing more than to render his situation as agreeable as I could; that he must be *mal entouré*, &c. But truth was not the object: to lower me in the Admiral's opinion, and to make an invidious distinction between us, was the principal feature in his attack. The day after, he repeated several of the expressions he had used to me, without mentioning one of mine in reply; and expressed particular pleasure at his having abused me (as he said) before the Admiral. Count Las Cases has since informed a naval officer[1] that the Emperor was very sorry he had lost his temper so much in his last interview with the Governor; that he had said that during the whole time he was on the throne of France he never was in such a passion, nor ever made use of such language to any one before; and that he conceived he had lowered himself by it.

"It will appear singular that the invectives poured forth so liberally by Napoleon Bonaparte should be so wholly unsupported by facts. His reproaches, which have been more than once repeated, that I execute

[1] Lieutenant Louis of the Northumberland.

my duty as a 'consigne,' would lead naturally to the supposition that I was troublesome to him by my personal observations and watchings of him, or by some teasing *minutiæ* of military details about his house and person. Nothing, however, can be more the reverse: I never go near Longwood except I have real business there, or on a visit of duty (about twice a-week) to see how the repairs are going on, and that all is right. On these occasions I never go near him, unless I have something particular to communicate. The observation of his movements during the daytime rests with the cordon of piquets, and during the night the security of his person is guarded by sentries around his house. This arrangement subsisted before my arrival, and I have made no alteration in it.

"The *minutiæ*, therefore, of which he complains must be of the following nature:—

"1stly. My having stopped a sealed note which was going from Madame Bertrand to the Marquis de Montchenu before Bonaparte had consented to receive the latter.[1] I cannot consider my having checked in the bud the first attempt at indirect communication between the persons of General Bonaparte's household and the Commissioners as in any respect beneath my attention. It was followed up, therefore, by my letter to Count Bertrand, prohibiting all interchange of sealed notes in the island; for I could not permit an interchange of them between the officers of General Bonaparte's suite and the inhabitants, and make an exception against the Commissioners. Sir George Cockburn, I believe, never warranted any exchange of notes, even with the inhabitants; and if any such passed, it was the result more of its being considered unimportant than as being authorized.

[1] Vide p. 200, *ante*.

"2ndly. Another point was my prevention of Count Bertrand's granting passes. This subject is discussed in a separate letter. If Count Bertrand could grant passes without my permission, there is no mischief or improper communication that might not have resulted.

"3rdly. Preventing the book being sent to him with the inscription 'Imperatori Napoleon.'[1] This is left entirely to superior judgment.

"4thly. Another point which had been frequently spoken of before was my having ordered away a Persian who had been engaged at Longwood as a servant by Count Montholon.[2] I saw this man walking about at Longwood in an Eastern dress. Knowing he was there without my permission, I desired my orderly dragoon to take him to the guard at the entrance of the grounds. On questioning him, he told me he had obtained permission by a *pass* from *Count Bertrand*, and he had engaged himself as servant to Count Montholon. I immediately sent to the latter to inform him that this man (whom I had particular reason for not suffering to stay) could not remain, but that I would assist him in getting another servant. The hire of servants without my permission was a thing attempted to be established, and this put a stop to it.

"5thly. Another cause of complaint is that of my having neglected to send a letter immediately to Count Las Cases which I had received by a private hand. The letter *was* sent to him, though, in compliance with my instructions, I ought not perhaps to have done so; but because it was not sent *as soon as received*, a clamour was raised upon it.

"I have thus related every particular which, to my knowledge, has occurred, to constitute what General Bonaparte calls executing my duty as a 'consigne;'

[1] Vide p. 193, *ante*.

[2] Vide p. 181, *ante*.

but it is quite obvious that every effort to conciliate regard and attention to him, or to procure him any possible resource this island can afford, must prove quite abortive, unless it squares with his views of obtaining a greater degree of personal liberty, or a greater freedom of correspondence and communication, both external as well as internal. These are, besides, the two points of my instructions to which the most unremitted care is required to be paid."

It is surely impossible to read this statement and not sympathize with the insulted Governor. There are limits to forbearance; and Bonaparte deserved a severer rebuke than he received. To his credit, however, it must be mentioned, that on this, as on a former occasion,[1] he repented of his violent expressions and demeanour. Count Las Cases says in his printed Journal,[2]—

"The Emperor admitted that he had during this conversation seriously and repeatedly offended Sir Hudson Lowe; and he also did him the justice to acknowledge that Sir Hudson Lowe had never precisely shown any want of respect;[3] he had contented himself with muttering, between his teeth, sentences which were not audible. He once said that he had solicited his recall; and the Emperor observed that it was the most agreeable word he could possibly hear. He also said that we endeavoured to blacken his character in Europe, but that our conduct, in that respect, was a matter of indifference to him. 'The only failure, perhaps,' said the Emperor, 'on the part of the Governor, and which was trifling, compared

[1] Vide p. 179, *ante*.

[2] Under date Aug. 18, 1816.

[3] "Fort maltraité et souvent Sir Hudson Lowe; et il lui rendait la justice d'avouer encore que Sir Hudson Lowe ne lui avait jamais précisément manqué."

with the treatment he had received, was the abrupt way in which he retired, while the Admiral withdrew slowly and with numerous salutations.' . . . . . The Emperor remarked that, after all, he had to reproach himself with that scene. 'I must receive this officer no more; he puts me in a passion; it is beneath my dignity; expressions escape me which would have been unpardonable at the Tuileries; if they can at all be excused here, it is because I am in his hands and subject to his power.' . . . . We were in the garden; the Emperor reverted to the conversation which he had yesterday in the same place with the Governor, in the Admiral's presence, and again reproached himself with the violence of his expressions. 'It would have been more worthy of me,' said he, 'finer and greater, to have expressed all these things with composure; they would, besides, have been more impressive.' He recollected, in particular, a term which had escaped him against Sir Hudson Lowe (*scribe d'état major*), which must have shocked him the more because it described the truth, and that, we know, is always offensive."

Count Montholon also states that Napoleon expressed regret for his violence on that occasion.[1] It seems that the coolness with which Sir Hudson Lowe bore his insulting language increased his anger, for he said, "This is the second time in my life that I have spoilt my affairs with the English. Their phlegm leads me on,[2] and I say more than I ought. I should have done better not to have replied to him."

The Governor had written to Count Bertrand on the 23rd of July, enclosing a copy of the Convention, and requesting that he might be allowed to introduce

[1] Récits, vol. i. p. 358.

[2] "Leur flegme me laisse aller."

the Commissioners to Bonaparte as soon as might be convenient. No notice was taken of this letter; but on the 24th of August Sir Hudson Lowe received the following celebrated remonstrance from Count Montholon, which was dictated by Napoleon himself:[1]—

"To Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

"Monsieur le Général,

"I have received the treaty of the 2nd of August, 1815, concluded between his Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, which accompanied your letter of the 23rd of July.

"The Emperor Napoleon protests against the contents of this treaty. He is not the prisoner of England. After having placed in the hands of the representatives of the nation his abdication in the interest of the constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he went voluntarily and freely to England, to reside there in retirement as a private person, under the protection of the British laws. The violation of every law cannot constitute a right: in point of fact the person of the Emperor Napoleon is in the power of the English nation; but neither in point of fact nor of right has he ever been, nor is he now, in the power of Austria, of Russia, or of Prussia; not even according to the laws of England, which, in the exchange of prisoners, never included the Russians,

[1] The endorsement of the copy of this letter states that it had no date, and that it was received on the 24th of August, 1816. Count Montholon always speaks of it as "My letter of the 23rd of August, 1816." A translation of it was published in London as a pamphlet, and went through several editions. The fourth edition was reviewed in the 'Quarterly' of January, 1817. In a note written by O'Meara on the 20th of August, 1816, he says, "I am informed there is a letter of six or seven pages hatching to be sent to Sir H."

the Austrians, the Prussians, the Spaniards, or the Portuguese, although connected with these powers by treaties of alliance, and carrying on war conjointly with them. The Convention of the 2nd of August, concluded fifteen days after the Emperor Napoleon had reached England, cannot, by right, have any effect. It only testifies the coalition of the four great powers of Europe for the oppression of one man—a coalition disavowed by the opinion of all nations, as well as by every principle of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and of Russia, and the King of Prussia, not having, either in fact or by right, any power over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, they could not decree anything respecting him. If the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that Prince would have remembered the connection established by religion and by nature between a father and his son, a connection never violated with impunity. He would have remembered that on four different occasions Napoleon restored his throne to him: at Leoben, in 1797; and at Lunéville, in 1801, when his armies were under the walls of Vienna; at Presbourg, in 1806; and at Vienna, in 1809, when his armies were masters of the capital and of three-fourths of the monarchy. That Prince would have called to mind the protestations he made at the bivouac of Moravia in 1806, and at the interview at Dresden in 1812. Had the person of the Emperor Napoleon been in the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have recollected the friendship contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurth, and cemented by a daily correspondence of twelve years; he would have remembered the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon the day after the battle of Austerlitz, when, though he could have taken him prisoner with the wreck of his

army, he was satisfied with his word, and allowed him to effect his retreat. He would have remembered the personal danger to which the Emperor Napoleon exposed himself in arresting the conflagration of Moscow, and saving that capital for him. That Prince would not certainly have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in his misfortune. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been placed in the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would not have forgotten that, after the battle of Friedland, the Emperor could have seated another Prince on the throne of Berlin; he would not have forgotten in the case of a disarmed enemy the protestations of devotion and the sentiments he expressed to him, in 1812, in the interview at Dresden. Indeed, we see by the Articles 2 and 5 of the said treaty of the 2nd of August, that, having no right to interfere in any way with the person of the Emperor Napoleon, who is not in their power, these Princes consent to whatever may be done by his Britannic Majesty, who takes upon himself all the obligations. These Princes reproach the Emperor Napoleon for having preferred the protection of English laws to theirs. The erroneous idea entertained by the Emperor of the liberality of the English laws, and of the influence exercised by the opinion of a great, a generous, and a free people over their Government, induced him to prefer the protection of these laws to those of his father-in-law or of his former friend. The Emperor Napoleon could at any time have secured his personal interests by a diplomatic treaty, by placing himself either at the head of the army of the Loire, or of that of the Gironde, commanded by General Clausel; but no longer seeking anything but retirement and the protection of the laws of a free people, either English or American, any

stipulations appeared to him unnecessary; he felt assured the English would be more bound by the frank, noble, and confiding step he took, than they could possibly be by the most solemn treaties. He was mistaken! But for this error every true Briton will blush; it will stand out in the present and in all future generations as a proof of the faithlessness of the English Government. Austrian and Russian Commissioners have arrived at St. Helena; if the object of their mission be to fulfil a part of the duties imposed upon the Emperors of Austria and Russia by the treaty of the 2nd of August, and to see that the English agents, in a little colony in the midst of the ocean, are not wanting in the courtesies due to a Prince united to them by family tiés and by so many other circumstances, we recognise in the measure the character of those two Sovereigns; but, Sir, you have assured us that the Commissioners have no right nor any power to hold even an opinion on anything which may be transacted on this rock.

"The English Minister has caused the Emperor Napoleon to be taken to St. Helena, at 2000 leagues from Europe. This rock, situated under the tropic, and 500 leagues from any continent, is exposed to the parching heat of this latitude; it is enveloped in clouds and fogs during three parts of the year; it is, at the same time, the driest and the dampest country in the world; the climate is most unfavourable to the health of the Emperor. Hatred alone has dictated the choice of this abode, as also the instructions given by the English Minister to the officers commanding here. They have been ordered to call the Emperor Napoleon 'General,' endeavouring thereby to make him acknowledge that he has never reigned in France. Chief Magistrate for life of the Republic, under the title of

First Consul, he concluded the Preliminaries of London and the Treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain; he received as ambassadors Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that capacity at his court; he appointed, as ambassadors to the King of England, Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided as such at the Court of Windsor. When, after an interchange of letters between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the two Monarchs, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris, with plenary powers from the King of England, he treated with the plenipotentiaries having full powers from the Emperor Napoleon, and resided for several months at the Court of the Tuileries; when, subsequently, at Châtillon, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum which the Allied Powers presented to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he recognised the fourth dynasty. This ultimatum was more advantageous than the Treaty of Paris; but it required that France should give up Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort and to the proclamations of the Allied Powers; contrary to the oath taken by the Emperor at his coronation to maintain the integrity of the empire. The Emperor believed the natural limits to be as essential to the security of France as to the balance of Europe; and that the French nation, under the circumstances in which it was placed, should rather incur all the hazards of war than give up the point. France would have maintained this integrity, and with it its honour, if treason had not come to the assistance of the Allies. The treaty of the 2nd of August, the Act of the British Parliament, call the Emperor 'Napoleon Bonaparte,' not giving him the title of 'General.' The title of General Bonaparte is doubt-

less eminently glorious; the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcole, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne that of 'First Consul' and 'Emperor.' Not to admit this would be to assert that he had been neither the First Magistrate of the Republic nor Sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who believe that nations are a herd belonging of divine right to a few families, belong neither to the age nor to the spirit of the English Legislature, which has several times changed its dynasty, because great changes in opinion, not participated in by the reigning princes, had rendered these the enemies of the happiness and of the majority of the nation. Kings are but hereditary magistrates, intended for the happiness of nations, not nations for the pleasure of kings. It is this same spirit of hatred which has prescribed that the Emperor is not to write or receive any letters without their being opened and read by the English Ministers and the officers of St. Helena. He has thus been deprived of the possibility of receiving tidings of his mother, of his wife, of his son, and of his brothers; and when, in order to avoid the indignity of having his letters read by inferior officials, he wished to send sealed letters to the Prince Regent, he was informed that none could be allowed to pass unless they were open, such being the instructions of the Minister. This measure requires no comment; it would be disavowed in Algiers. Letters have arrived for the general officers in the suite of the Emperor; they were opened and delivered to you; you have not forwarded them, because they had not passed through your Government. They had to travel four thousand leagues, and these officers had the mortification of knowing that there was news in this island from their wives, their mothers, and their

children, but that they could not be made acquainted with it in less than six months. We are prohibited from receiving the 'Morning Chronicle,' the 'Morning Post,' or any French papers; occasionally a few odd numbers of the 'Times' are sent to Longwood. In consequence of a request made while on board the Northumberland, a few books were sent to us; but all such as related to the events of late years were carefully taken away. Since then we have endeavoured to obtain direct from a London bookseller such books as we might want, and those relating to the circumstances of the times, but this has been prevented. An English author, having travelled in France, and printed his work in London, took the trouble to send it through you to the Emperor; but you did not think proper to forward it to him, because it had not come through the channel of your Government. It is also said that other books, sent by their authors, have been kept back, because some of them bore the inscription 'à l'Empereur Napoléon,' and others that of 'à Napoléon le Grand.' The English Minister has no authority to impose such vexations. The Act, iniquitous as it is, of the English Parliament, regards the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner-of-war; and never have prisoners-of-war been prohibited from subscribing to newspapers or receiving printed works; such a prohibition belongs only to the dungeons of the Inquisition.

"The island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is everywhere inaccessible; brigs surround the coast; guards are stationed at ten different points along the shore in sight of each other, thus intercepting all communication with the sea. There is but one little town, James Town, where vessels anchor, and from whence they sail. In order to prevent any

person from leaving the island, it is sufficient to watch the coast by sea and by land; by interdicting the interior of the island, no other object can be intended than to deprive us of a promenade of eight or ten miles, which could be performed on horseback, and the privation of which, according to the opinion of the physicians, will shorten the life of the Emperor. Longwood has been selected for the residence of the Emperor; it is exposed to every wind that blows, the land is sterile, uninhabited, without water, and unfit for cultivation of any kind. There is an enclosure of about twelve hundred toises of uncultivated land; at the distance of one or two hundred toises, on a rising ground, there is a camp; another has just been established at about the same distance in the opposite direction—so that whichever way we turn our eyes we see nothing but camps. Admiral Malcolm, knowing how useful in this place a tent would be to the Emperor, has had one erected by the sailors; under it alone can shade be enjoyed. The Emperor, however, has every reason to be satisfied with the spirit that animates the officers and men of the brave 53rd, as he also was with the crew of the Northumberland. The building at Longwood was erected to serve as a barn for the Company's farm; the Lieutenant-Governor of the island has since added some rooms to it; it served him for a country house, but is by no means fit for a constant residence. For the last twelve months they are constantly working at it, and the Emperor has been continually exposed to the inconvenience and insalubrity of living in a house in progress of construction. The room in which he sleeps is too small to contain a bed of ordinary size; but any fresh construction at Longwood would only prolong the annoyance of having the workmen about.

There are, however, in this miserable island some agreeable localities with trees, and gardens, and pretty good houses—Plantation House among the rest; but positive instructions from the Ministry prohibit your granting that house, which would have saved considerable expense to your treasury—money laid out in building wooden huts, covered with tarred paper, and which are already unserviceable. You have forbidden all correspondence between us and the inhabitants of the island; you have, in fact, placed Longwood under interdiction; you have even interrupted our communication with the officers of the garrison; it seems, accordingly, to be studiously intended to deprive us of the few resources offered by this miserable place, and we are just as badly off here as we should be on the barren and uninhabited rock of Ascension. During the four months that you have been at St. Helena, Sir, you have aggravated the position of the Emperor. Count Bertrand has observed to you that you even violate the laws of your Government, that you trample under foot the rights of the general officers, prisoners-of-war. You replied that you recognised nothing but the letter of your instructions, and that these were even worse than your conduct appeared to us.

"I have the honour to be, Monsieur le Général, your very humble and very obedient servant,

"Le Général Comte de Montholon.

"P.S. I had already signed this letter, Sir, when I received yours of the 17th,[1] accompanied by the approximate estimate of a sum of 20,000*l.* sterling, which you consider indispensable for the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, after having made all the deductions you thought proper. It is not for us to

[1] Vide pp. 244-5, *ante*.

enter into any discussion of this estimate. The table of the Emperor is barely supplied with what is strictly necessary; all the provisions are bad in quality, and everything here four times as dear as in Paris. You demand from the Emperor 4000*l.* sterling, your Government allowing only 8000*l.* for all expenses. I have already had the honour to inform you that the Emperor has no funds; that for a year past he had neither received nor written any letters; and that he is entirely ignorant of everything that has taken place or may happen in Europe. Brought by force to this rock, 2000 leagues removed, without being able to write or receive any letters, he is entirely at the mercy of the English agents. It has ever been and still is the wish of the Emperor to defray all his own expenses of whatever nature, and he will do so whenever you shall render it possible by countermanding the orders issued to the merchants of this island not to facilitate his correspondence, and when that correspondence shall no longer be subjected to your inquisition or to that of any of your agents. As soon as the wants of the Emperor shall be known in Europe, those who take an interest in his behalf will send the funds necessary to provide for them. The letter of Lord Bathurst,[1] which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange surmises. Do not your Ministers know, Sir, that the sight of a great man struggling with adversity is the sublimest of spectacles? Do they not know that Napoleon, at the island of St. Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every kind, to which he opposes only the most perfect serenity,[2] is greater, more sacred, more to be venerated, than when, seated on the greatest throne of the

[1] Vide p. 189, *ante*.

[2] It is unnecessary to comment on this assertion after narrating the violent explosions of ill-temper to which Napoleon had given way.

world, he was so long the arbitrator of Kings? Those who, in such circumstances, are wanting towards Napoleon, only degrade themselves and the nation they represent.

"Le Général Comte de Montholon."

It is obvious that the chief part of the matters complained of in this letter were the acts of the British Government and not of the Governor of St. Helena; and though Sir Hudson Lowe has left a reply to the whole of the charges contained in it, it is only necessary to insert so much of his remarks as relate to his own conduct, for as to that of the Government there are no facts in controversy.

With respect to the 'Morning Chronicle' and other newspapers, and to new books, he says, speaking of himself in the third person,—

"General Bonaparte once sent a message to him requesting him to send him the 'Morning Chronicle,' and he immediately sent the whole of those which he had then in his possession. No application was ever made to him to subscribe either to the 'Morning Chronicle' or the 'Morning Post,' or to any French journal. Had such an application been made he would have made the application known to his Government. It has not been odd numbers of the 'Times' newspaper, but regular series of them, which have been constantly sent, the Governor never having kept back a single number. If any numbers were kept back it must have been done by his (Napoleon's) own followers, to whom they were always enclosed for him.

"The new books sent consisted of several hundred volumes, the cost of which amounted to *l.*[1] On being addressed as to the mode of payment for them

[1] The sum is left blank in the original.

out of a sum of money which General Bonaparte had brought with him from France, Count Bertrand never honoured the Governor with any reply. The Governor is not aware of any books whatever being omitted which could be obtained of those inserted in the list.

"No application was ever made to the Governor to correspond with a bookseller in London to send out books. An application has been recently made to correspond with a bookseller on the Continent, and this he has forwarded to his Government to determine on. The facts are misstated here in the same manner as with respect to the newspapers. Only one book was ever received by the Governor, destined in any way for General Bonaparte, which he did not immediately transmit to him, the author leaving it to his option to deliver it or not as he thought proper. He did not think proper to do so, and has therefore kept the book.[1] An officer of rank and distinction passing by St. Helena acquainted General Bonaparte of it,[2] and the Governor had to endure the most gross language from General Bonaparte in consequence. The supposition that a book was sent with the inscription in it to 'Napoléon le Grand' is gratuitous, no such book having ever been received by him."

On the other points of Count Montholon's letter that affected himself Sir Hudson Lowe remarks,—

"General Bonaparte has an extent of nearly twelve miles for exercise on horseback, unaccompanied by an English officer; he has in his own grounds an extent of nearly four miles which he can traverse in almost every direction without being intruded upon by an individual. It was not Admiral Malcolm who conceived

[1] Mr. Hobhouse's book. Vide pp. 192-3, *ante*.

[2] Sir Hudson Lowe afterwards found that he was mistaken in supposing that Bonaparte heard of Mr. Hobhouse's book from Colonel Keating. Vide note p. 249, *ante*.

the utility of a tent in this position; there had been a species of tent erected by his predecessor, Sir George Cockburn, on nearly the same spot, and, falling into a bad condition, the Governor made an application to Admiral Malcolm for his seamen to reconstruct it in a more fit and permanent manner. The Governor also has every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the officers and men of the 53rd regiment; they have strictly followed his orders and intentions by performing their important duty in such a manner as not to furnish motive for any complaint of want of personal attention and regard to the individuals under their custody. The Governor soon after his arrival offered to build a house or to add new rooms to Longwood; he never could get General Bonaparte's assent either to one or the other: hints, however, have been received by him, and this letter contains one, that Plantation House, the Governor's own residence, would have been agreeable for General Bonaparte's use. Exclusive, however, of its being the Governor's own residence, the East India Company, and not the Minister, directed, on the arrival of General Bonaparte on this island, that this house should not be given up to him. The Governor has long since ceased to make any addition to Longwood House; he is himself of opinion the house is not sufficiently good for a person who has filled the high rank and station which General Bonaparte did, if regard and consideration is intended to be shown to him;[1] but as he would give no answer

[1] This shows that the Governor was solicitous for the convenience and comfort of Napoleon; and the same appears from the following extract from a letter he wrote at the end of October this year to the East India House:—

"The wine for General Bonaparte was last year obtained from Messrs. Gladstones. It was generally of good quality, and I beg to recommend that the same house may be again employed. You will oblige me by mentioning this to the Chairman, and to pray his strong recommendation

to the proposition of having a new house built for him —and if, when it is proposed to add other rooms to that in which he now resides, he says, 'Any building at Longwood would prolong the annoyance of the workmen'—how would he have the Government or the Governor himself proceed?

"There can be no necessity whatever for carrying on a correspondence with inhabitants of the island, whilst it would be equally improper for them to be receiving notes constantly from the 'Grand Maréchal au nom de l'Empereur.' Open notes sent through the orderly officer at Longwood or the Governor he has, however, never made any difficulty in forwarding. General Bonaparte and the officers and persons of his suite may meet the officers of the camp every day, notwithstanding the attempt made by one of his followers, Captain Piontkowski, who spoke in the name of Count Bertrand, to tamper with one of them on his departure from this island, trying to prevail on him to be the bearer of the letter to which this is the reply. If the allusion refers to the Act of Parliament, the Governor never had any conversation with Count Bertrand regarding it, except a few days after he had delivered a copy of it to him, when Count Bertrand said he was employed in translating it, and did not say another word on the subject. If the Governor, however, has violated that or any other law of the legislature, why does not General Bonaparte direct it to be named?.

"The Governor never said his instructions were worse than his conduct; he replied once to Count

---

to Mr. Gladstone, that the claret may be of the very *first quality*, as the taste of the persons who are to drink it is of a very fastidious nature, and as it is the particular wish of Government attention should be shown to any little comforts of this nature."

Bertrand that the little acknowledgment for limits granted by Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn was not encouraging to him in conceding greater indulgences, and this sentiment he wishes to repeat."

It has been declared that Bonaparte remarked to Sir Hudson Lowe, on the 18th of August, that, if sufficient food were not supplied him, he would take his seat at the table of the brave officers of the 53rd; and was certain they would not refuse a share of their dinner to an old soldier like him.[1] This *telling* speech, however, appears not to have been made, although it soon got into circulation. At all events Sir Hudson Lowe denied that any such expression had been used. In a note to him, on the 28th of August, Captain Poppleton, referring to a conversation with Cipriani, Bonaparte's maître-d'hôtel, said,—

"I likewise casually mentioned the expression supposed to be made by Napoleon to you respecting his dining in camp; that he was under a mistake, that no such expression had been made use of. He said it was very possible, as it was a mixture of what he would do and what he had done."

In consequence of the Governor having refused to allow Count Bertrand's passes to be valid without his leave, a letter of remonstrance was written by Count Montholon on the 28th of August, in which he said,—

"In the event, Sir, of your persisting in the system you have adopted, which to us is equivalent to our being placed on a desert rock, I have to beg that you will grant no passes for Longwood, either to residents of the island, to officers, or to strangers, except it be

[1] Récits, vol. i. p. 357; Voice, vol. i. p. 95; Journal, Aug. 18, 1816.

the workmen, the tradespeople, and others necessary for the service of the establishment; for, in that case, the Emperor protests and will not see any person who can only come to Longwood with your passports, and who, provided with them, is at liberty to wander round the house at Longwood, to the great discomfort of the Emperor in his walks, and without benefit to any one."

To this Sir Hudson Lowe replied on the 29th,[1]—

"Sir,

"I regret to learn that General Bonaparte has been incommoded with the visits or appearance of any persons about his house, except those who might be on duty near it, who had not already through Count Bertrand ascertained that their visits would be received by him, as my passports have been always given with such an explanation on this head as I thought would have obviated the possibility of any unpleasant intrusion on him.

"It is not, Sir, in my power to extend such a privilege as you require to Count Bertrand. There is no part of my written instructions more definite, or to which my attention is more pointedly called, than that *no person whatever* should hold any communication

[1] This and the following letter of Sir Hudson Lowe, though of no great interest or importance, are given entire in consequence of the perversion of the contents of the former by Count Montholon in his 'Récits,' vol. i. p. 377. He there says,—"Sept. 2: Sir Hudson Lowe replied to me that he requested me to make known what letter had been intercepted, and that, from the moment when General Bonaparte declared he would not receive any more visits except through the mediation of General Bertrand, he must conclude that all other modes of reaching Longwood were inconvenient (*inopportun*), and that he should consequently adopt all the necessary measures that in future no importunate visitor should enter the *enceinte* of Longwood. What irony!" It will be seen that Sir Hudson Lowe's letter does not contain a word than can by any possibility bear the construction which Count Montholon has given to it.

with General Bonaparte except *through my agency.* I have already acquainted General Bonaparte personally of this, and beg leave, Sir, to state it to you again for his information. In addressing all strangers and other persons, except those whose duty might lead them to Longwood, in the first instance to Count Bertrand (or asking him myself), to ascertain whether General Bonaparte would receive their visit, and in not giving passes except to such persons as had ascertained this point, or were directed to do it, I conceive to have done everything in my power to conciliate my instructions with that regard which I was disposed to show to General Bonaparte's convenience. I have, &c.

"H. Lowe,"

And the next day he wrote to Count Montholon as follows:—

"Sir, "Plantation House, August 30, 1816.

"In the letter you transmitted to me without date, on the 24th instant, I observe the following paragraph, which refers to a fact of which I am wholly ignorant:—

"'Letters have arrived for general officers in the suite of the Emperor: they were unsealed and were sent to your care: you have not communicated them because they had not passed through the channel of your Government, and they were obliged to travel four thousand leagues. The officers had the pain of knowing that there existed on this rock news of their wives, their mothers, and their children, and that they could not become acquainted with its import for six months.' As my memory does not furnish me with the recollection of having sent back any sealed or unsealed letters, whether brought by the post or private hand, or otherwise, which contained news of the mothers, wives, or

children of any person of General Bonaparte's establishment, or of not having sent them to Longwood, you will oblige me much by acquainting me of the particular instance to which you refer. I have to request you will do me the favour to make known to General Bonaparte that I cannot henceforward receive any letters which have relation to his affairs from officers of his household, unless it is distinctly expressed in the same that they are written to me by his direction; or, if intended for communication to a higher authority, unless the paper to be transmitted has received his signature. I have, &c.,

"H. LOWE."

In a despatch to Lord Bathurst on the 29th of August, Sir Hudson Lowe gave the following reasons for not deeming it expedient that Count Bertrand should have the power of granting passes to Longwood:—

"Count Bertrand's house lay in the way not only to Longwood but to the camp, and to all the eastern parts of the island. He saw almost all strangers that came, and had himself no restraint upon his communications with the inhabitants. The eventual mischief, therefore, which might result from a pass given by him could not be rendered abortive by any caution subsequently taken; and I have had an objection, besides, that his pass should be valid with any guard, except accompanied by one also from myself. I therefore confined the giving passes solely to myself, to Sir George Cockburn, and Sir George Bingham.

"It was not until those persons had seen Bonaparte with Count Bertrand's passes, without my knowledge or previous assent in any shape, that I made the alteration, and have reason to believe the indulgence

could not, without the grossest abuses, have been continued to him, even if the instructions contained in your Lordship's letter (which are different in that respect from those of Sir George Cockburn) did not make it a specific part of my duty to keep the granting of passes to myself."[1]

In another long despatch of the same date he said,—

". . . Your Lordship will observe the reply of Count Montholon respecting the expenses; that he evades all settlement of them in the way that he (Count Montholon) and Bonaparte himself gave me to understand it would be settled, and leaves me no other alternative than that of putting the establishment altogether upon fixed allowances. The number of persons composing the establishment is stated in an accompanying paper, and amounts to fifty-five. In an island like this, where everything is raised to so extravagant a price, and where no individual concerned has an interest for the observance of that economy which is practised in a private family, it will, I fear, be impossible to bring the expenses within the limits your Lordship has prescribed. It is only by a diminution of numbers that any material reduction can be effected in the expenditure; and until I receive your Lordship's commands on this subject, I do not feel myself authorised to send away any of the persons referred to—at least upon such a ground as that of the expense they create. . . . The conversation which passed between General Bonaparte and myself will naturally attract your Lordship's particular attention; and I beg leave to request your instructions in what mode I am to act towards him,

[1] These instructions prohibited Napoleon from holding communication with any one except through Sir Hudson Lowe's agency. See Letters and Documents at the end of the volume, No. 23.

whether in notice of the grossly insulting conduct he has manifested on this occasion, or if he should persist in the same line of proceeding hereafter. As the officers who form his suite do not consider themselves as liable to any law of discipline or respect to any authority in the island, I beg also to solicit your Lordship's instructions in what mode I am to conduct myself towards them when they imitate the behaviour of him they affect still to consider as their master. In all matters that relate to myself I naturally feel reluctant to adopt any measure which might be considered as proceeding from motives of personal resentment for the treatment I have myself endured. This sentiment has hitherto restrained me in all my proceedings towards Bonaparte; and in proportion as he has endeavoured to provoke me to some act of violence towards him, I have used a correspondent effort to preserve my temper and to render his design abortive.[1] Having communicated to your Lordship the unprovoked insolence of his demeanour in the second interview I had with him, an account of which was transmitted in my letter of the 20th of May, I shall hope not to be long in obtaining your sentiments of his conduct on that occasion, and being able to draw from them a rule for my proceeding, which may be rendered applicable either to the present or to any future instance. The principal delicacy I have felt in acting towards him has sprung, not so much from his defenceless situation and from the power which I hold in my hands, as from reflection on his voluntary surrender to the British nation, and upon my instructions, which command me to treat him with every indulgence that

[1] The passages in the text deserve particular attention with reference to the important question of Sir Hudson Lowe's temper and demeanour towards Napoleon.

is compatible with his personal security. It is a point, therefore, on which I wish to avoid acting from my own feelings, but the support of my authority may claim your Lordship's regard. The letter of Count Montholon will show the spirit with which Bonaparte is at present actuated."

On the 31st of August the orderly officer at Longwood wrote the following note to the Governor:—

"Dear Sir,

"All goes on well at Longwood. I was yesterday evening walking about the grounds, when I was surprised by a message from Napoleon, who wished to speak to me. He received me in the billiard-room—asked me if I was not the senior Captain in the regiment: I told him I was. He then said he had been told that it was said in the camp that he did not wish to see the officers of the regiment, and he therefore begged that I, as senior Captain, would explain to the officers that he had never expressed such sentiments; that, on the contrary, he esteemed them as brave men and good soldiers, and should be always happy to see them; and begged I would say, if it was so understood by them, that it was false. He likewise said that he was told some orders had been given to the regiment not to hold communication with him. My answer was simply, that I knew of no such order, and that I believed the whole of his information was without the smallest foundation. He was in a very good humour, and we parted with a great deal of civility on his part. This is all the real information I have to give you. I enclose two letters which are requested to be forwarded. Very faithfully yours,

"T. Poppleton."

To this the Governor replied,—

"My dear Sir,

"You did perfectly right to say the reports he had heard were without the smallest foundation. He must have had a motive for mentioning such inventions to you; and therefore be mindful of every further conversation he may address to you, and acquaint me of it. He perhaps wished to see if you would carry a communication for him. He has placed a restraint upon himself by the letter you brought me from Count Montholon, and now wishes to release himself from it by means that are indirect. Be mindful of what is said and done. Yours, &c.

"H. LOWE."

O'Meara in his book[1] represents Captain Poppleton to have replied, when addressed by Napoleon, not simply that "he believed the information which he had received was groundless;" but also "that the officers of the 53rd were acquainted with the good opinion which he had previously expressed of them, which was highly flattering to their feelings: that they had the greatest respect for him." And he adds that Napoleon smiled and replied, "Je ne suis pas vieille femme; I love a brave soldier who has undergone 'le baptême de feu,' whatever nation he may belong to." Either this is an invention, or Captain Poppleton suppressed in his note to Sir Hudson Lowe part of the answer he gave to Napoleon.

[1] Voice, vol. i. p. 107.

CHAPTER VII.

REDUCTION OF EXPENSES AT LONGWOOD—PLATE BROKEN UP FOR SALE — REAL OBJECT OF THIS—LETTERS OF O'MEARA — DESPATCHES FROM LORD BATHURST — O'MEARA'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. FINLAISON AT THE ADMIRALTY — INFORMATION GIVEN OF PROJECTS FOR NAPOLEON'S ESCAPE — REFUSAL OF NAPOLEON TO SEE SIR HUDSON LOWE — INTERVIEWS OF SIR THOMAS READE WITH BONAPARTE AND COUNT BERTRAND.

ON the 1st of September Sir Hudson Lowe forwarded to Earl Bathurst a letter which he had received from O'Meara on the 6th of the preceding month, requesting an increase of his salary. The following passages of that letter deserve attention:—

"It may be proper, Sir, to inform you that General Bonaparte himself, in a private conversation with me, after asking minutely concerning my allowances, made me an offer of 6000 francs yearly, independent of any sum the British Government might give me; which I then declined, and always will, as I conceive that, holding the rank and situation of a British officer, it would not be honourable or allowable in me to receive pay from a foreign captive, circumstanced as he is; but as the officers employed for his security enjoy nearly double pay, I certainly conceive myself entitled to a suitable augmentation. I conceive, Sir, that it is scarcely necessary to point out to an officer of your discrimination, talent, and observation, that mine is a situation peculiarly and unprecedentedly delicate, and

necessarily accompanied by several inconveniences and unpleasant circumstances indispensably united with so novel and trying an appointment,—such a one, I believe I safely may say, as no person has ever filled before, and requiring not a little 'management,' prudence, and patience on the part of any individual holding it, which, independent of the expatriation to so circumscribed and remote a residence as St. Helena, would undoubtedly require the aid of a liberal salary to induce any person to make such sacrifices as are inseparable from the nature of the appointment. Besides, Sir, in consenting to live here, I give up all hopes of establishing myself in England in a professional capacity; and my time of life renders it obviously necessary for me to endeavour to obtain a permanent situation. My present salary does not admit of a thought of saving such a sum yearly out of it as (in the course of a few years, in case of the demise of the General) would be sufficient to recompense me for the loss of so much time; neither is it sufficient to defray the expenses of a probable family, supposing that I was inclined to change my state (which I must either do speedily or never), and which certainly, in such a place as St. Helena, is essentially necessary to render existence tolerable. I hope, Sir, you will excuse the tedious minuteness of the above details, and that you will be pleased not to consider my requesting your approbation of my prayer, and your decision in favour of my being allowed a similar sum to that offered unto me by General Bonaparte, as presumptuous, or beyond the bounds of moderation; as I certainly cannot bring myself to determine upon remaining in a situation so peculiarly embarrassing for such a salary as I now receive, particularly as the allowance which I have requested is by no means a

novelty in the naval service, as the surgeons of naval hospitals receive from 500*l.* to 600*l.* yearly, and also the dispenser of the naval hospital at Madras, who is a naval surgeon, has 600*l.* per annum allowed."

Upon this letter Sir Hudson Lowe observed to Earl Bathurst, "The peculiarity of Dr. O'Meara's situation in General Bonaparte's family is so particularly adverted to in his letter, that it is unnecessary for me to enter into any exposition of it; and having had experience of Dr. O'Meara's zeal and useful information to me in several instances, I feel induced to solicit your Lordship's consideration to his claim, in granting him such an increase to the salary he already receives from the naval service of 365*l.* per annum as may place him on the footing of a staff surgeon of the army, whose pay at the island rate would be 520*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* per annum, exclusive of any allowance for horse, rent, coals, and candles."

At the same time the Governor wrote to Earl Bathurst a letter marked "private," relative to the subject of passes from Count Bertrand, and in it he said,—

"In the consideration of this matter I made no comparison of my instructions and those of Sir George Cockburn, but acted from my own sense of the matter. Sir George in all his proclamations had prohibited communication, except through his channel, and it appeared to me as a matter of course; but in looking into your Lordship's letter of instructions of the 12th of September, 1815, I find a much more precise rule laid down for my guidance than any which Sir George Cockburn had received, in the injunction 'That no person whatever is to hold communication with Bonaparte except through your agency.' Bonaparte, who

saw the copy of Sir George Cockburn's instructions in the public papers, has asserted several times mine are the same as his, saying *Sir George told him so*.. It is not impossible Sir George, or some of the officers in his confidence, considering this point of the restraint upon communication as sufficiently understood, may have thus expressed themselves to the Count or Countess Bertrand; but Sir George Cockburn could not have told Bonaparte himself of it, as he did not see him from the time of my arrival at St. Helena to that of his own departure; and the clamour they have made upon it may thus be wholly regarded as an attempt to bluster and intimidate, which would not warrant my trespassing upon your Lordship's time with so long a detail upon the subject, if I did not regard everything which had relation to my conduct towards General Bonaparte of importance to be made as fully and as clearly known as possible. I should not omit to mention that, previous to his departure from hence, Sir George Cockburn expressed to me his opinion that, had he been aware that Count Bertrand's house at Longwood would have been so long constructing, he should not have extended to him the great indulgence he enjoyed in respect to receiving visitors of almost all descriptions, and recommended my enforcing some restraint upon it."

The attention of Sir Hudson Lowe was now directed to a reduction of the expenses at Longwood. Finding, from calculations which he transmitted to Lord Bathurst, that the existing establishment could not be supported for less than 14,000*l.* or 15,000*l.* per annum, he sent Major Gorrequer to Count Montholon on the 5th, to state to him that, as it was possible the British Government might not have been aware that

General Bonaparte's establishment had suffered no reduction of numbers when it fixed 8000*l.* per annum as the limits of the expense, he would undertake, on his own responsibility, until the instructions of Government should be received, to allow of an expenditure to the amount of 12,000*l.*, including all charges; that Mr. Balcombe must arrange this matter with Count Montholon, so that the expense should in no case exceed 1000*l.* per month; and that he had fixed this sum from the conviction that it ought, with proper economy, to suffice. "If General Bonaparte," he said, "was averse to restrictions of any kind, further expenses might be incurred, but drafts must in such case be given in the manner in which the Governor understood from General Bonaparte himself and Count Montholon would be the case."

Major Gorrequer had a long conversation on the 5th of September with Montholon on the subject, which it is unnecessary to detail, as the matter was communicated by the Count to Napoleon; and Major Gorrequer had another interview with Montholon on the 7th, for the purpose of learning Bonaparte's decision.

"After some commonplace conversation," says Major Gorrequer,[1] "Count Montholon told me he had communicated to the Emperor the purport of the conversation I had with him two days previous; that he (General Bonaparte) had expressed how painful it was to his feelings to find that he was obliged to enter into details of this nature; that he had never felt so mortified in his life as to be obliged to discuss the matter of a bottle of wine or a chicken more or less, and that the British Government should find it necessary to

[1] MS. Minutes.

descend to the consideration of 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* in the expenses of his house; that, if Government was so desirous of retrenchment and economy, why did it not accede to his proposal of paying the whole of his expenses himself; that it was what he most particularly desired he might be allowed to do (but always with reference to the letters being transmitted under seal), and he would save the British nation the necessity of expending anything whatever on his account.

"After going over again (at great length) what had been already said in the conversation of the 5th on the mode proposed by General Bonaparte of providing the means of payment through the medium of mercantile houses by sealed communication, he added, that the 'Emperor' and himself had been at work the whole of that morning to see what reduction might take place in his establishment, to approximate the expenses to the allowance notified to him as fixed upon by Government, if the Governor persisted in not acceding to the mode proposed by him of obtaining the means of payment from his own funds in the manner above stated; that he had sent for him very early for that purpose, and had entered into the business with the greatest readiness and the best humour possible; that he had first asked him how many English servants were employed in his house; on his answering twelve, and describing their different occupations, he said, 'There are too many; we can do with less; send away one from this employment, two from that,' &c.; and had finished by ordering that six of them and a black man-servant, an inhabitant, should be discharged. The 'Emperor' had also inquired what quantity of wine was consumed daily; and, on being informed, he answered, 'We must be satisfied with less; twelve bottles of wine, including claret and white wines of all

descriptions, must suffice' (that is, for the use of himself and the officers and families); 'let the greatest economy of it,' he said, 'take place, and not a bottle be opened but what is necessary;' and that he directed a proportionate diminution to be made in the Cape wine, in consequence of the reduction of the number of servants; but that, with regard to the provisions, he had observed he could not see any possibility of their being reduced below what was now furnished.

"General Montholon then promised to send me the list of things which General Bonaparte considered sufficient,[1] and stated that he was desired to say, if it appeared still absolutely necessary to restrict them further in any of the articles of food, &c., the 'Emperor' in that case had charged him to dispose of about 25,000 livres of his plate in a private manner, either to Mr. Balcombe or any other merchant in town, as he could spare that quantity (not being at present in use), and, from the produce of its sale, contrive to provide those little comforts denied them; that this might last them two or three months longer, or until some fresh instructions arrived from England. General Montholon asked me if I thought the Governor would have any objection to his sending up for Mr. Balcombe, or some other merchant, to arrange about the disposal of the plate, and remarked that it would be more desirable a certain sum should be advanced upon the security of the plate than to actually dispose of it.

"Count Montholon continued, that the 'Emperor' bore no ill will, nor felt any cause of complaint, against the Governor in regard to these retrenchments; that

[1] "This list was, however, never sent to me, but evaded by an excuse when I afterwards spoke to Count Montholon on the subject, and asked him for it."—*Marginal Note by Major Gorrequer.*

he was only executing his instructions, and the orders of his Government left him no choice. General Montholon then made the following observation:—'It is true that I have lately written, by order and under the direction of the Emperor, some things very harsh—very strong—and very grave, to the Governor; but it was on the subject of the protest, and they were not things personal to himself; and the Emperor is well convinced that he cannot expect the Governor to lay out money from his own pocket, or go beyond what his own Government prescribes to him.' . . . . . Dr. O'Meara was present during the whole of this interview and conversation.[1] Captain Poppleton remained for some time, but left us long before it was finished. Dr. O'Meara informed me that General Bonaparte had sent for Cipriani (his maître-d'hôtel) in the morning before he saw General Montholon, and had directed him so to arrange that General Bertrand's house should never exceed 100 francs per day."

In consequence of what passed on this occasion Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Count Montholon, and requested him to inform Bonaparte that he had no hesitation to give him any assurance he might require that any letters, bills, or communications whatever, which he might transmit through the Governor respecting the means for his defraying the extra charge incurred beyond the sum fixed by the British Government for

[1] O'Meara admits that he was present, but he has given (Voice, vol. i. pp. 111, 112) a meagre and prejudiced account of it, in which some material remarks on both sides are suppressed. Not a word is mentioned of Bonaparte's having entered into the matter with readiness and good humour, nor of his not feeling any ill-will or making any complaint on the subject against the Governor. As to Count Montholon, it is almost unnecessary to say that he suppresses all notice of the conversation with Major Gorrequer (see 'Récits,' vol. i. pp. 385, 386), and Las Cases is equally silent (Journal, Sept. 7, 1816).

the expense of his domestic establishment, would not be made known by the Governor to any individual on the island or elsewhere, the Secretary of State for the Colonies alone excepted.

Count Montholon's reply was dictated by Napoleon. It was offensive and insulting in its tone, and, as it was not expressed to have been written under Bonaparte's direction, Sir Hudson Lowe, in conformity with the intimation he had conveyed to Count Montholon in his letter of the 30th of August,[1] returned it, informing him of the reason.[2]

The Count chose to construe this into a refusal on the part of the Governor to correspond with him, and he sent back the two letters he had received from him, saying that he had made no use of them.

On the 10th of September, says Major Gorrequer,[3]—

"I was again at Longwood, and was then informed by Dr. O'Meara that General Bonaparte had told him that General Montholon had stated to him that at the interview of the 7th Major Gorrequer had either proposed to him directly, or by his conversation had insinuated, the adoption of the measure of disposing of the plate to assist in paying the expenses of the establishment; and that General Bonaparte appeared to be much irritated and very indignant about it. Dr. O'Meara having replied that he was present during the whole of the conversation, and that no such proposal or suggestion was made by Major Gorrequer, General Bonaparte asked him if he would say so in the presence of General Montholon, and, he answering,

---

[1] Vide p. 273, *ante*.

[2] It is printed in Montholon's book (Récits, vol. i. p. 387), and will be found, together with Sir H. Lowe's two letters in answer, at the end of the volume.

[3] MS. Minutes.

'Certainly he would,' General Bonaparte spoke of him (Montholon) in a very angry manner, called him a 'bavard—un coglione;'[1] said he had never authorised him to enter into any matter of that nature, and abused him for having so done without his permission."

Few facts connected with the captivity of Napoleon have excited more sympathy than the sale by him of his plate. As the case has been generally represented, it did seem a pitiable thing that he, who was the First Consul of the Republic, and afterwards Emperor of France—the conqueror at Austerlitz and Jena, whose will gave law to the continent of Europe—should have been reduced to the necessity of parting with his silver plate in order to keep himself and his followers from starvation at St. Helena. And if any necessity for the sale really existed, it must have reflected indelible reproach upon the British Government; for, in depriving him of his liberty, they charged themselves necessarily with the cost of his support. But was there such a necessity? Surely, if we believe Count Las Cases, there can be no doubt about the matter; for he tells us that provisions were ordered to be purchased and paid for by the sale of the plate; and that one morning feeling hungry he asked for a mouthful of bread, and was told there was none for him. "Thus," he says, "we are denied drink and meat."[2] But happily for the cause of truth, we can produce better evidence of the facts of the case than a statement by Las Cases. That the plate was sent from Longwood for sale is indisputable; but the alleged cause was a fiction, and the whole affair was a manœuvre of Napoleon to create false sympathy for himself, and draw

[1] A babbler—a fool.

[2] In another passage he says, "At dinner we had literally scarcely anything to eat."—*Journal*, Sept. 14, 1816. And see 'Récits,' vol. i. p. 394.

public odium upon Sir Hudson Lowe. To prove this, we shall cite a witness whose testimony *here* admits of no dispute. O'Meara himself shall reveal the truth. In vain, however, shall we search his printed pages for the real explanation of the circumstance. There we find nothing to lead the reader to believe that the sale was caused by anything but want of food.[1] And yet he had himself written, on the 23rd of September, to Sir Thomas Reade, "You know they have taken out the Eagles, and beaten up into a mass a portion of the plate, openly and avowedly for the purpose of providing money, in order to cover expenses over and above the Government allowance. *The object they have in view in this is very evident, and does not require me to point it out to you.*"[2] And again, in a private letter to his friend Mr. Finlaison, on the 10th of October, after mentioning that the French at Longwood daily spent more than the Government allowance, to meet which outlay Bonaparte had caused some of his plate to be broken up, he adds,—"*In this he has also a wish to excite an odium against the Governor, by saying that he has been obliged to sell his plate in order to provide against starvation,* AS HE HIMSELF TOLD ME WAS HIS OBJECT."

Moreover, it must be remembered that the only pretence for the sale of the plate was Sir Hudson Lowe's expressed intention to reduce the expenses of the establishment at Longwood to 12,000*l.* a-year, which sum was 4000*l.* a-year *more* than his Government had authorised him to allow. The obvious mode of meeting the retrenchment was to dismiss more of the superfluous servants, as Bonaparte himself at first

[1] See Voice, vol. i. pp. 120, 150, 299.

[2] The words in italics and capitals are not underlined in the copies of the letters furnished to the author.

proposed, but by this the French would have deprived themselves of a grievance, and therefore the plan was abandoned until it was forced upon them. It was surely not too much to require that, if they kept up a large retinue, making the whole establishment consist of fifty-five persons, and insisted upon luxuries, they should defray the additional cost beyond 12,000*l.* a-year themselves.

On the 12th of September O'Meara informed Major Gorrequer that he had fully explained to Napoleon that part of his conversation which related to the plate, and that Bonaparte then acknowledged that he had authorised General Montholon to sell some of it; adding, "The next thing I must sell will be my clothes." About the same time he sent for the purveyor, Mr. Balcombe, and told him that it was his intention to send some of his plate down to town in order that he might sell it for him, for he found that the retrenchments lately made in the supplies for his table rendered it impossible for him to exist upon them; that the quantity fixed upon was quite insufficient. Mr. Balcombe said he hoped he was not in earnest about selling the plate, upon which Napoleon answered, "What is the use of plate when you have nothing to eat off it?" and added that he could do without it, and it was necessary he should sell it to provide himself with what was requisite for the table; that the Governor had required him to pay 12,000*l.* in addition to what Government had fixed upon, to make it up to 20,000*l.*, which was supposed to be the expense his establishment would occasion annually;[1] and

[1] This was incorrect. The Governor had informed General Montholon that he would, on his own responsibility, make up the allowance to 12,000*l.* a year—and therefore the additional outlay to be defrayed by the French themselves was 8000*l.*, not 12,000*l.* Vide. p 282-3, *ante.*

that he was willing to pay the whole, if he was allowed to employ such merchants as he chose to negotiate his bills, and be the channel of his correspondence with his friends in Europe, without being obliged to send his letters open.

In a despatch to Earl Bathurst Sir Hudson Lowe observed, "The reductions are those which General Bonaparte has himself suggested, and therefore the best to be adopted." And in another letter of the 21st of September, he said,—

"By a conversation had with Dr. O'Meara, I understand Bonaparte said it was his wish to have sentries placed at his doors and windows, on the principle that the sooner matters came to extremes the more likely they were to change. He believes also Count Montholon and Count Las Cases are equally desirous to furnish pretexts by their conduct for having a different punishment inflicted on them—that of sending them off the island; all being anxious for this termination, if their honour can be saved, and harsh conduct or blame be imputed at the same time in any way to the British authorities. As Dr. O'Meara communicates very freely with General Bonaparte, I obtain from him at times some singular developments of the cunning and subterfuge both practised by himself, and the practice of which is authorised in those underneath him. I enclose some memoranda on this subject, which show how artfully it was designed that the proposal for selling Bonaparte's plate should appear to have come from me instead of being suggested by him; and if I had not directed Major Gorrequer to have a second person present when he communicated with Count Montholon, this and other points, as will appear in the memoranda, would have been exposed to the grossest misrepresentations."

In a private letter to Earl Bathurst on the 29th of September, Sir Hudson Lowe said,—

"Napoleon Bonaparte has remained pretty tranquil, having been remarkable in no other way than in that of extraordinary assiduity in the compilation of his History, which he has been heard dictating for five or six hours together to some of his attendants. The pages of the 'Moniteur' I understand furnish the principal field of his reference. What is to be done with his History when it is terminated is a question that still remains in doubt. From the celerity with which he appears to work at it it does not seem designed for posthumous publication, and your Lordship may perhaps in this communication find matter sufficient for furnishing me with some instruction, whether the intention may be to publish during his lifetime, or to leave it among his papers at the time of his decease.

"He continues to resist every attempt to add to his comfort, so far as regards external appearances; whilst the diminution of the charges on account of his table, and in matters that do not strike and appear, have called forth expressions of very indignant feeling from him. An upholsterer was fitting up his billiard-room, which at the same time serves as the hall of entrance to his apartments, when he angrily sent away the man, saying he would not be troubled with his noise. The room in consequence remains in a tattered and discreditable state, which is, perhaps, what he prefers. In resisting the suggestions I have at various times presented to him for having a new house constructed, I have no doubt his object has been to obtain the cession of the house in which I myself reside.[1] The instructions of the Court of Directors

[1] Plantation House.

have placed it out of my power to give this up to him. So far as relates to myself the objection might have been soon removed, and even with respect to my family, had any other house in the country presented a convenience to us; for the castle, which is the town residence, on account of the difference in the climate as well as the bad state of the building, has been of late years rarely inhabited. But from the view I am enabled to take of the general principle of all Bonaparte's movements, I am inclined to think it is not so much that Plantation is at present the best house in the island it is so warmly desired, as that it is the residence of the *Governor*; and that the cession of it therefore to him would imply a regard and distinction which might have its consequent influence to apply as time and circumstances might best direct. In other respects Rosemary Hall, the place pointed out in a former letter, presents equal advantages of situation with Plantation House, and does not interfere with the Company's establishment and improvements on the latter spot, which have been very extensive, and require to be supported and attended to with great care. Whether any change, however, is desirable your Lordship's judgment will best determine."

We now turn to O'Meara, and quote from some of his unpublished letters, written during the month of September. On the 7th he wrote to Sir Thomas Reade and mentioned another trait of Count Montholon's character:—

"Bonaparte has been this morning occupied in arranging something respecting the intended economy in the house: he sent for Cipriani, and consulted him on the subject very minutely, and gave directions that five servants should be discharged, viz. one from Mon-

tholon, one from the kitchen, one from the silver-room, and two from the stables. Cipriani told him that Montholon's house was more like a *Court* than a private person's house; that it contained a magazine of furniture; and that, when he could not find anything else, so desirous was he of grabbing something, that he went out and laid hold of the wood for fuel and carried it with him into his store. Bonaparte sent for Montholon immediately after, and they have been since closeted together above three hours."

On the 13th he wrote to Major Gorrequer,—

"Dear Major,

"Montholon has been with me this morning making a long harangue about the state of the 'cazzeruole,'[1] which he says are in a very dangerous position in consequence of the tinning having been worn away from the inside, which he said daily exposed them to the risk of being poisoned; and added, that he had himself experienced divers pains and commotions in his intestinal *régime*, and concluded with a hint that, if it was not desirous to have them poisoned, he would be obliged to you to send the armourer tomorrow with wherewithal to remedy the evil complained of. He said this about being poisoned half laughing, half otherwise; and added that he had applied for several days to have the man sent. He added, that this concerned *me* as the surgeon. I have inquired myself into the state of the 'cazzeruole,' and find that they are in a very bad state. You had better take some steps to have them repaired, as he is malicious enough to assert that it was neglected on purpose to poison them, and very likely has already

[1] Copper saucepans. See 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 120.

done so. Great complaints have been made of the butter last sent up, which certainly was very rancid and scarcely fit for any use. Yours, &c.

"BARRY E. O'MEARA."

On the 15th also he wrote to the Major and said,—

". . . Montholon told Balcombe the day before yesterday that you had come up to Longwood *purposely* to find out complaints against him; that you had endeavoured to do him all the injury in your power; and that you wanted him (Montholon) to complain about the provisions in order to make Balcombe lose the purveyorship, and that he (Montholon) had refused to do so, and had prevented any complaints to be made; and a great deal more. I told Balcombe that the fact was the reverse, as Montholon had required, in case Bonaparte paid himself for the expenses of the establishment, that Balcombe should be no longer purveyor; at least that it should be *optional* with Montholon to purchase from him or not, as he would send out and buy a fat sheep instead of Balcombe's *lanterns*, good fowls instead of crows, &c. &c.; that he did not mean to say that Balcombe was a 'voleur,' but that he had 'voleurs' under him, &c.; that I was witness to the conversation. You had better ask Balcombe about it when you see him."

This letter mentioned also that the French complained of there being a want of claret, that a dozen bottles were borrowed by Captain Poppleton from the mess of the 53rd regiment, and that, Generals Montholon and Gourgaud thinking it was adulterated with lead, the latter had asked him for the means of testing it, as is related in O'Meara's book.[1] He added,

[1] Voice, vol. i. pp. 116, 120, 121.

"I beg that you will be good enough to explain the above to the Governor, which is the whole of what took place."

On the 20th O'Meara acquainted Sir Thomas Reade that the Countess Bertrand had told him that Bonaparte had given her a phaëton, that she might raise money by selling it to pay part of her debts at St. Helena, and that she wished to send it to the Cape by Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm for sale. Under date the 23rd of August in his book he says,[1] "Received an answer from Sir Thomas Reade, announcing that the Governor had given his consent for the sale of the phaëton, with a proviso that the money derived from it should not be paid to themselves, but deposited in Mr. Balcombe's hands." The answer, however, in fact, *contained no such proviso.*[2]

From O'Meara's next letter to Sir Thomas Reade a passage has been already quoted relative to the sale of the plate,[3] and we need only add the following:—

"Montholon has been cursedly down at the mouth

---

[1] Voice, vol. i. pp. 123, 124.

[2] To prove this, the note itself, which is otherwise unimportant, is here subjoined at length:—

"TO BARRY O'MEARA, ESQ., LONGWOOD.

"My dear O'Meara, "September 23, 1816.

"I have spoken with the Governor about Madame Bertrand's phaëton, and he has desired me to say that he has no objection to her disposing of it; but he regrets very much that she should have been put to any inconvenience in regard to her pecuniary affairs, the more so as the additional 4000*l.* per annum which he gave authority for being expended was specifically granted in consideration of the officers and families attached to the establishment at Longwood, and more on account of the Bertrands separately than the rest. He would not, however, have exceeded the 8000*l.* had General Bonaparte been single, or with only two or three persons in his suite, and thinks the remainder ought to have gone for the comforts of his followers until they could arrange their own means. I am, &c.

"T. READE."

[3] Vide p. 289, *ante*.

for some days back, and also his precious wife, though her *appetite* is not at all diminished thereby. Gourgaud also looks very gloomy."

On the 19th of September Major Gorrequer wrote to Captain Poppleton, desiring him, in case Count Montholon applied for an officer to accompany him to the town for the purpose of selling the plate, to inform him that he could not be allowed to receive the money, but that the amount must be deposited with the purveyor for Bonaparte's use.

Two days afterwards Captain Poppleton told Sir Hudson Lowe,—

"Cipriani went to James Town yesterday to purchase provisions; and, by what I learn from him, the plate will be given to the house of Balcombe to discharge the debts; all that was broken up is now given in that state to Cipriani. General Montholon did not seem pleased with the communication; at first begged I would have it made in writing, but afterwards told me not to make such a request. Cipriani, who seemed to understand the business, said such was the order of Government."

The Eurydice frigate arrived at St. Helena on the 29th of September, and Sir Hudson Lowe received by her a series of important despatches from Earl Bathurst, conveying the Prince Regent's entire approval of his conduct; and informing him that, as attempts were likely to be made for Bonaparte's escape, the utmost vigilance and precaution were necessary. They contained also some additional instructions.

Lord Bathurst's first despatch was dated June 26, 1816, and in it he said,—

"I have great satisfaction in communicating to you

the Prince Regent's entire approbation of the conduct which you pursued in requiring that the officer on guard should be enabled to ascertain twice in the four-and-twenty hours that General Buonaparte is safe in his custody. I need not, I am sure, point out to you that the officer on guard should continue to ascertain this fact as late in the evening and as early in the morning as possible. His Royal Highness also approves of the regulations which you have adopted for preventing General Buonaparte having a clandestine intercourse with the inhabitants. The conduct of General Buonaparte and his followers, the information which I have from time to time directed to be forwarded to you, and many concurring circumstances, cannot fail of impressing you with an expectation of some attempt being made to effect his escape; and it is to be apprehended that he may be much assisted in such an undertaking by the number and character of the persons who are about him.

"You will therefore remove from General Buonaparte at least four of the persons who went out with him. You will understand that I include Piontkowski among this number, although, strictly speaking, he followed him some time after the Northumberland sailed. In making this selection you will be guided by the unfavourable opinion you may have reason to entertain of their conduct. If you have any difficulty in making the selection, you will call upon them to draw lots, and on their refusal you will direct it to be done for them. . . . . If you prefer letting the selection be made by lot, you will, of course, not subject Generals Bertrand, Montholon, or Count de Las Cases to such an alternative."

And on the 17th of July he wrote as follows:—

"There is a wide distinction between the conduct which you ought to hold towards General Buonaparte and towards those who have chosen to follow his fortunes by accompanying him to St. Helena. It would be a want of generosity not to make great allowance for the intemperate language into which the former may at times be betrayed. The height from whence he has been precipitated, and all the circumstances which have attended his fall, are sufficient to overset a mind much less irritable than his, and it is to be apprehended that he can find little consolation in his reflections, either on the means by which he attained his power or his manner of exercising it. So long, therefore, as his violence is confined to words, it must be borne with, always understanding and giving him to understand that any wilful transgression on his part of the rules which you may think it necessary to prescribe for the security of his person, will place you under the necessity of adopting a system of restraint which it will be most painful to you to inflict.

"With respect to his followers, they stand in a very different situation: they cannot be too frequently reminded that their continuance in the island is an act of indulgence on the part of the British Government; and you will inform them that you have received strict instructions to remove them from the person of General Buonaparte, and to transport them out of the island, if they shall not conduct themselves with that respect which your situation demands, and with that strict attention to your regulations which is the indispensable condition on which their residence in the island is permitted."

On the 3rd of July Lord Bathurst wrote respecting the 4000 napoleons which had been taken from Bonaparte on board the Northumberland. He said,—

"As the expenses which General Buonaparte proposed defraying out of that fund are of a nature which must otherwise have been borne by his Majesty's Government, I see no objection to the application of the portion assigned to the payment of Mr. Balcombe's charge. With respect to the residue, however, which it is proposed to leave for the future disposal of General Buonaparte, I must observe that a sum amounting to 1396*l.* 1*s.* has already been paid in this country for books ordered by General Buonaparte, and that therefore the sum applicable to future payments in St. Helena is reduced by that amount to a sum altogether insufficient for the purposes to which he was desirous of applying it. You will not fail to take an early opportunity of explaining this circumstance to General Buonaparte."

It has been already mentioned that the British Government were determined to mark their sense of the insolent tone adopted by the French officers in their declarations of their wish to remain at St. Helena, by refusing to receive them,[1] and the Eurydice brought out a despatch for the Governor from Earl Bathurst, directing him again to submit to them his original form of declaration for their signature, and at the same time acquaint them that he was instructed forthwith to withdraw from attendance on Bonaparte and transport out of the island all those who, within a given period "(say a week)," should not have signified their assent to that declaration, simply and without comment, by subscribing the paper which he was to present to them.

Lord Bathurst added,—

"You will, however, on the delivery of the paper for their signature, first explain to them that, by their

[1] Vide p. 157, *ante*.

signing it, they are not to imagine that they thereby become irrevocably bound to remain in the island of St. Helena, but that you are instructed to permit any of those who shall have signed the paper nevertheless to depart from the island within a reasonable time after they shall have made an application for that purpose, and you will transport them to the Cape of Good Hope until you shall receive instructions to the contrary."

Before noticing the next despatch from England we must advert to a circumstance which occurred in June this year. On the 19th of that month Captain Hamilton, of H.M.S. Havannah, which had just arrived from St. Helena and was then lying at Spithead, wrote to Admiral Thornbrough, the Commander at Portsmouth, and informed him that a letter had been printed in one of the Portsmouth newspapers which professed to give information respecting Napoleon, and was reported to have been brought to England by the Havannah, and that it appeared to have been put on board by "Dr.. O'Meara."[1] Tidings of this were communicated to O'Meara by Mr. Finlaison in a letter written on the 3rd of July, and conveyed to St. Helena by the Eurydice. In this letter Mr. Finlaison said,—

"Your letters of the 16th of March and 22nd of April came duly to hand, and furnished a real feast to some very great folks here. I also received a letter from you on your first arrival, which was considered very interesting; not a line of anything you have written to me since you sailed was ever made public. The moment your letters came they were given to Mr. Croker, who considered them extremely interesting, and circulated copies among the Cabinet

[1] Where the prefix of Dr. is given to O'Meara in any letter or document quoted, it has been thought proper to retain it; but he had no right to the title of M.D.

Ministers; and he desires me to assure you that they never have been, nor shall they ever hereafter be, seen by any other person. I conjecture also that your letters have even amused his Royal Highness the Prince Regent: they are written with that discrimination, good sense, and *naïveté*, that they could not fail to be acceptable; and I am quite sure that they have done you a great deal of good at the Board, a proof of which is, that the other day Captain Hamilton of the Havannah, and Sir E. Thornbrough, reported in a public letter that, a few hours after the ship's arrival, a letter was inserted in the Portsmouth paper about Bonaparte, and that it had been traced that you were the author of it. Mr. Croker sent for me, and desired me to request you to be careful in respect to your private letters to any other person, as everything now-a-days gets into the papers; but to me he repeated his hopes that you would write in full confidence, and in the utmost possible detail, all the anecdotes you can pick up, resting assured that none but the Government ever will see them, and to them they are and must be extremely interesting, as showing the personal feelings of your great state prisoner."

To prevent any misapprehension it is right to state, that Lord Bathurst was not ignorant of this correspondence between O'Meara and Mr. Finlaison, which it seems was circulated "amongst the Cabinet Ministers." But it is evident from what follows that he had not communicated the fact to Sir Hudson Lowe, who at this time had no suspicion whatever of its existence. And when on the 12th of July Earl Bathurst wrote to him, enclosing an extract from Captain Hamilton's note, and also the letter that had been published in the Portsmouth newspaper, his expressions would seem to

imply that he was not aware, although he might have suspicions, that letters of O'Meara were conveyed to England through other channels than that of the Governor. He said,—

"It is impossible to misunderstand the spirit in which this publication was written; but it does not appear whether it was written by Dr. O'Meara himself or by some other person at St. Helena—very possibly by one of General Buonaparte's attendants. At any rate the letter was clandestinely conveyed to England by Dr. O'Meara's interference, and he may very probably have conveyed other letters of more importance by similar channels. It appears therefore that it will not be prudent to place any confidence in Dr. O'Meara; and unless his explanations are more satisfactory than I expect they will be, it will, I am afraid, be impossible not in prudence to remove him from the island, although I fully enter into the difficulty you may have in supplying his place near General Buonaparte's person."

The receipt of this letter by Sir Hudson Lowe led, as he expressed it to Lord Bathurst in a letter written on the 12th of October, 1816, "to some curious developments." He called upon O'Meara for an explanation, who on the 5th of October addressed a long letter to the Governor, in which he declared that he had never written an anonymous letter in his life, and said that this was not the first time that public opinion had most unjustly attributed to him the authorship of letters which had appeared in the newspapers. He then said,—

"Previous to the present occurrences I have never received any prohibition or even *caution* as to free communication, and my conduct has been solely guided by my own sense of the impropriety of indis-

criminately making public such occurrences as might take place relative to him (Bonaparte), and which I judged that his Majesty's Government might not, perhaps, wish to be published without their previous sanction; and *now* that I have received such caution, my communication will be of course more circumscribed and reserved than before."

After this Sir Hudson Lowe had some conversation with O'Meara on the subject, and the latter mentioned one or two persons (amongst them was Mr. Warden, the surgeon of the Northumberland) with whom Bonaparte had had private conferences, and whom O'Meara suspected with reference to the letter in question. Shortly afterwards he informed Sir Hudson that Count Montholon had offered him a copy of his letter of the 23rd of August,[1] and wished him to send it to England for publication in the 'Morning Chronicle,' but that he had refused.[2] It appeared, however, from his own account, that this proposal had been made to him five or six days before, and he had allowed Count Montholon to leave the letter with him during that period without communicating the fact to the Governor. These circumstances were detailed by Sir Hudson Lowe to Lord Bathurst in his despatch of the 12th of October, and he then went on to say,—

"I did not fail immediately to point out to Dr. O'Meara all the impropriety of his conduct, and even the danger as affecting his life, by meddling in such matters. He said Count Montholon had left the letter in his room without his giving his consent to it—that a motive of curiosity had led him not to return it—

[1] Vide p. 257-267, *ante*.

[2] O'Meara, however, did send a copy of Montholon's letter to Mr. Finlaison on the 10th of October.

that he had no intention to give it publicity,[1] but that he should probably have given extracts of it in his letters to Mr. Croker;[2] and he here produced to me a letter he had received from a Mr. Finlaison, who holds some office in the Admiralty, marked 'Confidential and Secret,' and therefore, perhaps, not furnishing a fit matter for reference, in which he is most particularly requested to give all the details possible to Mr. Croker of everything interesting he can collect respecting General Bonaparte, and made acquainted that the letters he may write will not pass beyond the perusal of the Cabinet Ministers. Mr. Finlaison tells him of the pleasure the perusal of many of them have afforded to a *Royal Personage*; and Dr. O'Meara is encouraged by every species of praise to continue his communications both to Mr. Croker and Mr. Finlaison, the official situation of the former of whom may perhaps afford some grounds for the request, but certainly

[1] The following extract from the postscript to a letter from O'Meara to Mr. Finlaison, written on the 14th of October this year, will show the persevering efforts made to send this letter clandestinely to England, and also the necessity for the closest vigilance on the part of the Governor. It proves also that, after all, O'Meara did send to England a copy of Montholon's letter.

"This letter De Las Cases and Montholon have been endeavouring by all means in their power to send to England. De Las Cases showed it and explained it to Captain Shaw of the 'Termagant,' and, I believe, offered a copy to Captain Gray of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Louis of the Northumberland, to whom also a copy was offered, which he refused taking, as Sir Hudson expressed his earnest wish to me that it should not be sent even to the *Admiralty:* as he said he had not given the Admiral a copy of it, perhaps it would be as well not to allow it to come to his knowledge that I had sent it, though I conceive it a duty incumbent on me to furnish Mr. Croker with all the intelligence possible through you, and which I shall not fail to do in every one of my letters."

[2] It was a mistake of Sir Hudson Lowe to suppose that O'Meara corresponded with Mr. Croker, then the Secretary of the Admiralty. The latter merely received and communicated to the Cabinet the letters which Mr. Finlaison put into his hands.

not that of the latter. The letter from Mr. Finlaison concludes with requesting Dr. O'Meara to procure him a scrap of Bonaparte's handwriting for Mr. Croker, and, on the whole, manifests a kind of interest in everything relating to the extraordinary personage referred to, which if communicated to him could not fail, I think, of proving in a certain degree flattering to him, and with a person of his artifice lead, through Dr. O'Meara, to communications for the ear and observation of the Prince Regent himself. . . . . He founds his vindication principally on the strict injunctions he has received from persons in public situations to send home accounts of what is passing here, and the approbation given to his letters at the *Board* as *confidentially* communicated to him by Mr. Finlaison."

O'Meara's version of this interview and his comments upon the conversation are contained in the following extract from a letter written by him to his friend Mr. Finlaison on the 10th of October :—

"Some days back Montholon came to me, and, after requesting secrecy if I did not comply with his demand, told me that a letter had been written by him to Sir Hudson Lowe, containing a statement of supposed grievances; that he was very anxious to get the letter known, and that he would wish me to read it. Being anxious to obtain all the information possible to communicate to you, I naturally was very glad of the opportunity, and accepted it. Montholon then asked me to send it to England in order to have it put in the 'Morning Chronicle,' which I refused to do directly (as I had done once before, when he asked me to send to England his declaration), and only kept the letter for the purpose of taking a copy to send to

you. I told Sir Hudson, this day, that Montholon had done so, and that he had given me the letter. He was very much displeased at the idea of its being made known, and also with me for having read it, so that I was obliged in my own defence to make known to him that I was authorized to make communications respecting Bonaparte to the Admiralty. He appeared surprised and annoyed at this, and said that it was not proper; that the Admiralty had nothing to do with what took place respecting him; that he did not communicate it to the Duke of York; that it ought not even to be made known to any of the *Cabinet Ministers*, except the Secretary of State, with whom he corresponded himself, and that he would make some arrangements accordingly. He added, that my correspondence ought to go through him. I replied very respectfully, that, as I had been in the habit of obeying those received from the Board of Admiralty, under whose orders I naturally was, I had not thought it improper to communicate to them such information and anecdotes as I thought they might be pleased with, and concluded with submitting to him that it would be much better for me to resign the situation, which I was ready to do. To this he replied, he was far from desiring such a step, and said that the subject altogether required some deliberation, and thus the matter rests. Until, however, I have received directions from *you* not to correspond, I will continue to do so, or will, as I told him, resign a situation always delicate, and now peculiarly and embarrassingly so."

Few, I think, will be disposed to deny that Sir Hudson Lowe was right in the view that he took of this matter. It is perhaps not difficult to understand why

these communications were received by the Cabinet without his knowledge, for the Ministry might think that if he were made acquainted with the fact it would be difficult, if not impossible, for O'Meara to continue the correspondence, of which secrecy seemed an essential condition, and they would thus lose the advantage of this private channel of information. But it was hardly fair towards a public servant in such a situation to keep him in ignorance of what was going on, and this was keenly felt by the Governor after his discovery of the circumstance.

In a letter published in the 'Morning Chronicle' of the 3rd of March, 1823, Mr. Finlaison, speaking of a letter which he had received from O'Meara in July, 1815, said, "Some expressions in this letter led me to doubt the propriety of entertaining a correspondence of the nature offered to me by Mr. O'Meara without the authority of my official superiors. I therefore thought proper to communicate the letter to Mr. Croker, who declined authorising such a correspondence without consulting Lord Melville. His Lordship, on being referred to, said that he saw no reason why I should not receive the letters which Mr. O'Meara might choose to write to me, and that it might even be advantageous to hear from an impartial and near observer the situation of Bonaparte and his suite. But in order that no duplicity should be practised on Mr. O'Meara, I was desired to apprise him that his letters would be seen by the Ministers."

The Eurydice brought also for the Governor the following letter from Mr. Goulburn, the Under Secretary at War:—

"Sir, "Downing Street, July 20, 1816.

"Lord Bathurst has this day received your letter

of the 4th ultimo, stating the dislike evinced by General Buonaparte to being accompanied by a British officer in the excursions which he may make beyond the limits assigned to him, and the reasons which induce you to consider a compliance with his wishes on this subject as of very doubtful propriety. His Lordship has directed me to acquaint you, without loss of time, that he considers it on every account most important not to deviate from the rule which has been heretofore adhered to in this respect, and that the disposition which General Buonaparte has shown to converse with, and give money to, the lower classes of the inhabitants, renders it, in his Lordship's opinion, highly necessary not only that he should be constantly accompanied by a British officer when beyond his limits, but that the officer should be instructed to prevent, as far as possible, all that intercourse with the inhabitants which General Buonaparte seems so disposed to cultivate. I have, &c.

"Henry Goulburn."

That there was some reason for increased vigilance is apparent from an accompanying despatch from Earl Bathurst, dated July 25th, which enclosed copies of two letters received by Messrs. Menet, merchants in the city of London, and which they lost no time in communicating to the Government. The enclosure No. 1 was received by them on the 21st of May, and, although the communication was anonymous, Messrs. Menet had some reason for attributing it to a correspondent of theirs at Milan; and, in conformity with instructions which they received from Government to that effect, they applied to the supposed writer for further information. The enclosure No. 2 was the reply to that application.

The letters were the following :—

"No. 1.—Your Government is deceived. Napoleon has already gained over a person at St. Helena. If you are a true Englishman, profit by this information, which is given you by a sincere countryman, and advise your Government to be upon its guard."

"No. 2.—Perfect confirmation. We cannot give the details, but the fact is positive. Keep your eyes well open; watch the slightest movement, and take away certain powerful means that always succeed in corrupting (gold). Burn this."

In transmitting these enclosures Lord Bathurst pointed out the necessity of still further precautions, and added,—

"As it appears both from these letters and from your despatches that General Buonaparte has money at command, which he disposes of at his own pleasure, I have to express my earnest desire that you would adopt some means of ascertaining the nature and amount of the funds at his disposal, and of preventing his receiving any further pecuniary supply without your perfect knowledge and acquiescence."

On the 27th of May, 1816, Sir Charles Stuart, our ambassador at Paris (afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay), wrote to Viscount Castlereagh, and, after mentioning a suspicious circumstance, said,—

"The Austrian Minister at this Court, at the same moment, communicated a letter to this Government which has been intercepted by the police of Vienna, and is addressed to General Morand at Cracow. This letter contains an obscure allusion to St. Helena, Ascension, and Philadelphia; and a reference to

future communications in cipher, which General Morand is to receive from General Eilly, explaining several circumstances of material importance respecting the present situation of Buonaparte."

And on the 8th of July Sir Charles informed Lord Castlereagh,—

"The French Government have received intelligence that a person named Carpenter, who is a citizen of the United States of America, is equipping a fast-sailing vessel, in the Hudson's River, for the express purpose of facilitating the escape of Buonaparte from the island of St. Helena. The statement I have received from the Duke de Richelieu upon this subject does not enable me to point out the precise period when this vessel may be expected to sail. The fact is, however, sufficiently credited by M. de Richelieu to induce his Excellency to recommend that apparent security should not lead to a relaxation of the vigilant system adopted on the arrival of Buonaparte at his present residence, and of which his Excellency considers the necessity is fully proved by the intelligence which is daily received of the projects contemplated by his adherents in France and the Netherlands."

On the 17th of July Lord Bathurst wrote in a private letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, "You had better impose some restriction on the visits of those who are on their return to England. It would be hard, and would indeed be considered suspicious, if you were not to gratify the curiosity which naturally exists to see so extraordinary a man; but all previous and subsequent intercourse with his followers should be strictly prohibited, and the interviews with Buonaparte should not be allowed to any passenger more than

once, and to some I think might be denied. No intercourse with his followers, except in the presence of a British officer. When you do not allow, or he himself refuses, a personal interview, a sight of him at a distance would satisfy many. You should also make those to whom you give the permission of a presentation give a promise that they will refuse to be the channel of clandestine communications.

"You will also impress strongly (you cannot too strongly do so) on Buonaparte's followers that they are there only on good behaviour, and that their situation on being sent out of the island will be very different from what it would be on their applying for leave to depart—that in the latter plan facilities will be given them to return to Europe; that in the former, none whatever will be given. With the fear of being thus dismissed without any provision whatever constantly before them, they will not be so much inclined to hazard clandestine communications in future. But to counteract the impression which such reports as shall have reached England will possibly make, I have to beg you will collect together as many instances as possible of the many gross falsehoods which I know they utter; and I am sorry to say that General Bertrand is as guilty of this as any of the rest."

He also said in another private letter to the Governor,—

"As upon reflection you may perhaps consider that my advice to you that General Buonaparte's temper should be borne with is to recommend you to subject yourself to his insulting language, I cannot help adding that I would by no means wish you to continue the same personal attentions to him which you may be

inclined to show him otherwise, if he makes so ill a return; and your communications must be through other channels, and in a way to show that he is degrading himself by such misconduct. You will, however, be always willing to overlook it when he expreses himself sorry for his having forgotten himself. I have only to add, that we consider it a very essential point, particularly until the iron railing shall arrive, to ascertain, late in the evening and early in the morning, that he is safe."

On the 1st of October the Governor[1] proceeded to Longwood, accompanied by the officers of his staff, for the purpose of acquainting Bonaparte with the purport of the instructions which he had received from

---

[1] It may be worth while to refute, in a note, a calumny against Sir H. Lowe arising out of the arrival of the Eurydice. By that vessel a letter came for Napoleon, the contents of which Sir Hudson Lowe has been accused, in opprobrious terms, of having published; whereas he took every precaution to prevent its being seen by any person except Bonaparte himself, but the outer envelope was accidentally opened by Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer at Longwood (through whom all letters for the French were transmitted), in his eagerness to see if it contained any letters for himself. He wrote the following note of explanation to Major Gorrequer:—

"My dear Gorrequer,

"I write to you from Sir George's [Major-General Sir G. Bingham], as the Governor had a few minutes only quitted Plantation House. I came over to explain this mistake, which I am sorry for. I opened the packet, and saw no other than one enclosure; and, to tell the truth, I thought there ought to have been something for me; but, not seeing anything, I immediately opened the second and began counting the letters, when I understood the orderly, who was standing at my elbow, said, 'There 's another letter, and you 'll please to give me a receipt.' I then took up the Governor's note, but it was easy for me to make a mistake. I did not see the note till the orderly asked me for a receipt for *the letters*, and I thought he said, 'There 's a letter, and I will thank you for a receipt.' Have the goodness to explain this to the Governor, and say I am sorry for the mistake, but that no notice was taken of it. Madame Bertrand came out immediately, and told me the contents of the letter to Napoleon Bonaparte. Yours most truly, "T. Poppleton."

England; but Napoleon said he was suffering from toothache, and could not receive him. O'Meara, however, saw Bonaparte twice on that day, and he gives us in his book[1] the following account of the second interview:—

"At four P.M. Napoleon sent for me, and desired me to look at one of the *dentes sapientiæ*, which was carious and loose. He asked me if I knew what the Governor wanted, or why he wished to see him? I replied that perhaps he had some communication from Lord Bathurst, which he did not like to deliver to any other person. 'It will be better for us not to meet,' said Napoleon: 'it is probably some *bêtise* of Lord Bathurst, which he will make worse by his ungracious manner of communicating it; I am sure it is nothing that is good, or he would not be so anxious to deliver it himself. Lord * * * is a bad man, his communications are bad, and *he* is worse than all. Nothing good can arise from an interview. The last time I saw him he laid his hand upon his sabre two or three times in a violent manner. Therefore, go to him, or to Sir T. Reade, to-morrow, and tell him that if he has anything to communicate he had better send it to Bertrand, or Bertrand will go to his house: assure him that he may rely upon Bertrand's making a faithful report. Or let him send Colonel Reade to me to explain what he has to say; I will receive and hear him, because he will be only the bearer of orders, and not the giver of them; therefore, if he comes upon a bad mission I shall not be angry, as he will only obey the orders of a superior.'"

On the next day O'Meara again saw Bonaparte,

[1] Voice, vol. i. pp. 129, 130.

who, with some additional offensive expressions, repeated his wish not to see the Governor, and desired the doctor to communicate his sentiments to him. O'Meara then went to Sir Hudson Lowe, and reported Bonaparte's message, "suppressing," as he says, "the offensive parts." This he was required to give to him in writing; and afterwards Sir Hudson Lowe dictated the following notes for the reply which O'Meara was to make to Bonaparte, and of which he has printed only an abstract in his work, although he calls it a copy.[1]

"1. To say that the principal object of the Governor in desiring to see General Bonaparte himself, arose from a sense of attention to him, in making him acquainted with any instructions received respecting either himself or any officers of his suite before communicating the subject to them. That the instructions principally regarded the latter, but there were points even regarding them upon which he was the properest person to decide.

"2. That, besides, the state of the Governor's relations both with General Bertrand and with General Montholon prevented him from attempting to make either of them the channel, the former having declined any communication, and the latter having latterly addressed him in a style which would prevent his ever applying through him on any matter connected with General Bonaparte's establishment, unless in reply to General Bonaparte's own communications, if he thought proper to make use of Count Montholon for the purpose. The Governor had therefore no other channel than General Bonaparte himself, not being willing to have recourse to persons who had never been authorized by him.

"3. The mode in which the Governor would have

[1] Voice, vol. i. pp. 133, 134.

desired to make his communication would have been in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade, or some other officer of his personal staff, General Bonaparte himself having any officer of his suite also present. This he conceives the proper mode on the occasion of any interview, whether official or otherwise; and to this he would still desire to have recourse at present. Firm himself in the intention never to say anything which might offend or displease; acting always in compliance with his instructions; and his object having been, on the occasion of the interviews with Count Bertrand and General Bonaparte (which were productive of the most violent and offensive language to him), to modify and conciliate the strict letter of his instructions with every possible degree of regard and attention to General Bonaparte himself, he cannot comprehend the motives of resentment which could operate with such force against him.

"4. That if, however, an interview with other persons present is still resisted, the Governor would have no objection to send an officer to communicate in general the purport of what he wants to say, and leave the details to be settled afterwards.

"5. That if General Bonaparte wishes to send Count Bertrand, the Governor will have no objection to receive him, but he will expect, in such case, that a regret and concern is distinctly expressed at the language and conduct to which he was exposed on the occasion of his last interview with that officer, when he went to communicate with him by General Bonaparte's own desire. He conceives the same expressions of concern are also due to him for the manner in which he was received and spoken to by General Bonaparte himself when he went to complain of Count Bertrand's conduct; and, on being so made acquainted,

he shall not have the slightest hesitation to express his own concern at anything in his manner or expressions which may have been thought unpleasant, which, as there was no previous design or intention on his part of saying anything offensive, and his words merely repelling what he considered an unprovoked attack on him, is more than what he would consent to do to a person in any other situation.

"6. So long, however, as General Bonaparte is resolved to dispute with the Governor for endeavouring to execute his orders, he sees little chance that any arrangements, even of this nature, could have a proper effect."

O'Meara tells us that on receiving this communication "Napoleon smiled contemptuously at the idea of *his* apologising to Sir Hudson Lowe;" and on the 3rd he had a long conversation with Napoleon, who indulged in gross abuse of the Governor, calling him a *geolier* and *galeriano*. "According to his desire," says O'Meara, "I wrote an account of what he had said to Sir Hudson Lowe, avoiding, however, to repeat the strongest of his expressions." This account agrees substantially with that which O'Meara has printed,[1] and therefore need not be here repeated. The concluding paragraphs, however, deserve attention:—

"It is a very unpleasant office, Sir, for me to hear

[1] Voice, vol. i. pp. 129-132, 135-138. One instance, however, of O'Meara's unfairness merits notice. In the 'Voice' (vol. i. p. 132) he tells us that Bonaparte said of the Governor, "He came up here yesterday, surrounded by his staff, as if he were going in state to assist at an execution instead of asking privately to see me." But he does not publish in his *book* what he added to this passage when he quoted it to his friend Mr. Finlaison in a *letter* of the 10th of October, 1816, "*This I suppose was invented* and told him by Montholon, to whom Sir Hudson had addressed himself on his arrival."

such expressions as he makes use of, and still more so to be under the necessity of repeating any part of them to you; but I trust that you will consider that I have hitherto been very cautious in ever repeating to you any of his offensive language, and that it is now in consequence of the desire which you expressed yesterday that I have done so, and consequently hope that you will not feel any displeasure towards me for a disclosure which I have for a long time endeavoured to avoid making. Also, I beg to request that no intimation may be given to him that I have made you acquainted with any part of the foregoing, unless that which he desired me to make known."

In his letter to the Governor, O'Meara states that Bonaparte said that, the last time he and the Governor were together, the latter had put his hand two or three times upon his sabre. This drew from Sir Hudson Lowe an instant and indignant denial in the following letter, marked "Private," which was the first he ever wrote to O'Meara:—

"Dear Sir, "Plantation House, October 3, 1816.

"I am much obliged for the information you have given me. I have done everything in my power, after your communication to me, to prove there was no personal vindictive feeling on my part. Not having been met, I am the better pleased to leave matters to their natural course and to the judgment of the authority to which they have been reported. You may most *distinctly contradict to General Bonaparte that I ever laid my hand on my sword*; witnesses can prove it; none but a confirmed villain could *think* of doing so against an unarmed person. With respect to the instructions I have received and my manner of making them known, never having regarded General Bona-

parte's opinions in any point, whether as to *matter* or *manner*, as an oracle or criterion by which to regulate my own judgment, I am not disposed to think the less favourably of the instructions, or my mode of executing them; on the contrary, he is, I fear, insensible to any true delicacy of proceeding. To treat with him one must be either a blind admirer of his faculties, or a yielding instrument to work with—*a mere slave in thought to him*;[1] otherwise he who has business which opposes his views must make up his mind to every species of obloquy. I send Sir Thomas Reade to him with my communications. I remain, &c.,

"H. Lowe.

"P.S. Before General Bonaparte proposes any other style of appellation, he should himself *drop* the title of Emperor. If he wishes to assume a feigned name, why does he not propose one?"

As Bonaparte was resolved not to see Sir Hudson Lowe, the latter sent Sir Thomas Reade to him on the 4th of October, who wrote a minute of what took place. Having found Napoleon in the garden at Longwood, he delivered to him a paper containing some extracts from Lord Bathurst's despatches, which Las Cases translated to him. Sir Thomas Reade then proceeds:—

"He asked what four persons were to leave him,

[1] In the margin of the volume into which this letter is copied, Sir Hudson Lowe has written opposite to this passage, "Meant for Mr. O'Meara himself." And, writing to Earl Bathurst on the 10th of October, he explained his object thus:—"Some parts of Dr. O'Meara's letter appearing to me to require comment, I addressed a few private lines to him in reply (of which copy is enclosed), wherein I endeavoured principally to strike at the impression he might himself receive from the boldness of General Bonaparte's assertions, and the air of infallibility with which he always utters them."

remarking at the same time there were but *four*; to which I answered I could not tell. He then asked if they were officers; to which I made the same answer as before. He desired Count Las Cases to read the paper again, which he did. When he came to that part which mentioned about the four people leaving him, he looked at Count Las Cases, and said in Italian, 'Fra poco tempo me se leveranno tutti gli altri, e qualche mattina m'amazzeranno.' During our walk he made the following expressions, but did not address them particularly to me: 'Che rabbia di persecuzione —poi me se perseguiterà meglio andrà e mostrerà al mondo.' This he repeated twice. He again asked if I knew what persons were to go: I answered as I had done before. 'As to Captain Piontkowski,' he said, 'I do not even know who he is; they tell me he was a soldier in my guards at Elba, and that is all I know about him.'"

Sir Thomas Reade on leaving Bonaparte went immediately to General Bertrand, whom also he found walking in his garden with Madame Bertrand. He showed him the paper and told him that the Governor wished to see him and the other officers of General Bonaparte's suite, either collectively or in any other manner which might best suit their convenience. Bertrand replied that he would wait upon the Governor at any time he would appoint, and said he was very sorry that the Governor and himself had not been on good terms, but that he thought it better that the communications between them should cease, as the letters which had been written by him to the Governor were of such an unpleasant nature, but they were not his own; he was compelled to write what he had been directed to do. "Madame Bertrand," says Sir Thomas Reade, "repeated this several times to me." He then

took leave, and next day General Bertrand called upon Sir Hudson Lowe by appointment. A full account of the interview is contained in the Governor's despatch to Earl Bathurst on the 10th, but it will be only necessary to quote the following:—

"He asked me whom I intended to send away? I replied it had been my wish to concert this point with General Bonaparte himself; that I had no desire to remove those whose society might be supposed to give him the greatest consolation, or who might be of the most use to him in his present situation; that at all events I wished to wait and see who were the persons that signed the declaration, and would then best determine who were to go away. Judging from my opinion of the persons who had shown the most disposition to quarrel with the proceedings of the British Government, and who were most active in keeping up the irritation of General Bonaparte's mind, I should without hesitation name Count Las Cases. . . . . General Bertrand asked if they would be exposed to any further restrictions than those now in force? I told him I had been instructed to use additional precautions for the security of General Bonaparte, and some alterations would be made in the existing regulations, but that I would inform him of them before the declarations were presented for signature."

CHAPTER VIII.

OBJECTIONS OF THE FRENCH TO SIGNING THE DECLARATION — ALTERATIONS MADE BY SIR HUDSON LOWE IN THE REGULATIONS — PROPOSAL OF BONAPARTE TO ASSUME ANOTHER NAME — INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND COUNT BERTRAND ON THE SUBJECT — NAPOLEON ON THE NEW TESTAMENT — HIS CRITICISM ON THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO — LETTER FROM O'MEARA TO MR. FINLAISON, AND HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE STYLE OF LIVING AT LONGWOOD — MORE PLATE BROKEN UP, AND MONTHOLON'S ACCOUNT OF THE STRATAGEM — CALUMNY OF O'MEARA.

ON the 8th of October Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Bertrand, and enclosed a copy of the declaration to be signed by the officers and others who had accompanied Bonaparte to St. Helena. He said,—

"Those who may not be disposed to subscribe to the same I am directed to cause the embarkation of for the Cape of Good Hope. In offering the above declaration for their signature, the officers and other persons will, however, understand, they will not bind themselves irrevocably by it to remain on the island of St. Helena, as I am authorised to admit their departure within a reasonable time after they may have made any application to me to this effect. They will in such case be sent to the Cape of Good Hope, where they will be under the protection of the Governor of that colony. They will be furnished, at the time of their departure, with what may be necessary for their voyage.

"I am further instructed to acquaint those to whom the declaration may be presented for signature, that, whilst remaining on the island of St. Helena, they, and all individuals of their family who are resident on the island, will be subject to the provisions of the Act of Parliament 56 Geo. III. chap. 22 (copy of which is enclosed), by which all persons who are subjects of his Majesty, or owing allegiance to him, *which allegiance they do owe whilst they are permitted to reside in his dominions*, assisting in or privy to the escape of General Bonaparte, are considered guilty of felony; and it is to be clearly understood that, should any of them be convicted of such offence, the law will be rigidly enforced against them. To this law, whether the declarations are signed or otherwise, every individual becomes, from the date of this communication, immediately subject."

The enclosed form of declaration was as follows:—

If a married person.

"I, the undersigned, do hereby declare that it is my desire to remain with my wife and family on the island of St. Helena, and to participate in the restrictions imposed upon Napoleon Bonaparte personally."

If an unmarried person.

"I, the undersigned, do hereby declare that it is my desire to remain on the island of St. Helena, and to participate in the restrictions imposed upon Napoleon Bonaparte personally."

In a letter of the 10th of October to Sir Thomas Reade, O'Meara said,—

"Gourgaud and Montholon went this morning to

Bertrand's, in order either to sign or consider on the new declarations. Las Cases sent for me this morning, and complained of ill health; said that his life was daily extinguishing. I could not, however, discover any alteration in his appearance more than common, neither did he complain of any particular symptoms. Bonaparte told me this morning that he had recommended strongly to the French officers to go away, that he would be more independent without them."

On the 14th the French officers signed the declarations; but as they had substituted the words "l'Empereur Napoléon" for "Napoleon Buonaparte,"[1] the paper was returned by Sir Hudson Lowe with a letter to Count Bertrand, in which he said,—

"I can receive no declaration which gives to General Bonaparte the title of 'l'Empereur Napoléon,' that of 'Napoleon Bonaparte,' as expressed in the copy of the declaration, being the proper name, and to which there ought to be no reasonable objection to sign."

"In the evening of the 14th," says Count Montholon, "Sir Hudson Lowe sent back to the Grand Marshal the declarations and the letter which contained them. I have little doubt that the Emperor expected it; but during dinner he exclaimed against the indignity of Sir Hudson Lowe's demands, and forbad us to sign anything except the declaration which he had himself dictated to the Grand Marshal. On returning to his

[1] Count Montholon says: "14th October.—This morning the Grand Marshal, by the Emperor's order, made each of us sign the following declaration, which he sent to the Governor: 'I, the undersigned, declare that it is my desire to remain in the island of St. Helena and to share the restrictions imposed upon the Emperor Napoleon personally."—*Récits*, vol. i. p. 417.

room he dictated to me the answer which he wished Bertrand to make to the Governor." Next day Sir Hudson Lowe arrived at Longwood with his staff just when the letter had been written, and it was placed in his hands. It was as follows:—

"Sir, "Longwood, October 15, 1816.

"The officers and other persons who have signed the declarations which I have had the honour to address to you consent to submit to the unexampled restrictions which are imposed upon them. But they can sign nothing which in its forms can alter the respect they bear to the Emperor, for whom they are ready to make any sacrifice, even of their lives. I have the honour, &c.

"Le Comte Bertrand."

Sir Hudson Lowe's object in going to Longwood was to have an interview with Bertrand and his companions respecting their declarations. He was attended by Lieutenant-Colonels Wynyard and Sir Thomas Reade, and by Major Gorrequer, and a long discussion took place between him and each of the French officers, who came separately and at intervals into the room. It related entirely to the question of Napoleon's right to the title of Emperor, and is now wholly uninteresting. But Sir Hudson Lowe's account of the demeanour of the different generals is graphic and characteristic:—

"Count Bertrand appeared exceedingly agitated whilst he was delivering himself, and struggling, as it were (by the feelings he showed), to make an impression on me. Count Las Cases' appeared quite a studied oration. The strain of adulation with which he expressed himself respecting the 'Emperor' appeared

to have very little of sincerity in it; and he latterly seemed quite to lose himself in a labyrinth of thought and perplexity in attempting to convey to me the profound sentiments with which he felt himself inspired. Count Montholon spoke with great plausibility and moderation, but it was evidently a mere repetition of the lesson he had received. General Gourgaud commanded attention to everything he said by his candour and sincerity. He is the only person of the four who saved their [his?] honour on the occasion, as he said he had no objection to sign the declaration in the form it was offered, but that the commands of the 'Emperor' forbad it."

Sir Hudson Lowe now resolved to be no longer trifled with, and in the evening of the same day he wrote to Bertrand and told him that those who refused to sign the declaration would be immediately embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, with the exception only of himself and Countess Bertrand with their children and female domestics, Bonaparte's maître-d'hôtel, cook, and valet-de-chambre, and one other domestic. He said,—

"I have been induced, Sir, to make an exception in favour of your family at the present moment in consequence of the situation of the Countess Bertrand,[1] but feel it my particular duty to acquaint you I can henceforward receive no communication which has relation to the affairs of General Bonaparte in which any other title is given to him than that by which he is called in the Convention signed at Paris by the Allied Powers, and in the Acts of the British Parliament."

[1] Madame Bertrand was then near her confinement.

Count Montholon gives the following dramatic account of the reception of this letter, and of the effect which it produced in the circle round Napoleon:—

"In the evening he read 'Don Quixote.' While he was reading, the Grand Marshal showed him the letter which he had just received from the Governor, transmitting to us the order to hold ourselves ready to depart the next morning, the 16th, at eight o'clock,[1] for the Cape of Good Hope, General Bertrand only, for the time, excepted, on account of the pregnancy of the Countess Bertrand. The Emperor affected a calm which he did not feel. But soon afterwards, laying the book on the table, he said, 'One ought to have more courage than I have, to laugh at such trifles in such circumstances.' A profound silence followed these few words. Neither he nor we could restrain our emotion. General Gourgaud arose, as if from a convulsive movement, crying, 'I am going to sign.' I followed his example. The Emperor did not stop us—far from it, his look thanked us. A quarter of an hour afterwards our declarations would have been in the hands of Captain Poppleton, if, at the moment we were leaving the dining-room, the Emperor had not called us back to dictate to me the letter which he thought it proper that the Grand Marshal should write to Sir Hudson Lowe to explain to him the cause of our determination; but when the Emperor had made me read to him what he had dictated, he changed his intention, and caused us to write a letter to Bertrand, which he was to transmit to the Governor as the expression of the sentiments which had induced

[1] The letter says nothing about "*the next morning at eight o'clock.*" Sir Hudson Lowe's exact words were, "I shall make an immediate application to the commanding officer of the Navy to furnish the means of embarkation for the Cape of Good Hope."

Gourgaud and me to disobey him. Las Cases on his part did so likewise. At midnight all was finished, and Captain Poppleton had our signatures in his hand."[1]

And now what does O'Meara say of the scene? In his *printed* narrative he merely tells us[2] that—

"The prospect of separation from the Emperor caused great grief and consternation among the inmates of Longwood, who, without the knowledge of Napoleon, waited upon Captain Poppleton after midnight and signed the obnoxious paper, (with the exception of Santini, who refused to sign to any in which he was not styled 'l'Empereur,') which was transmitted to the Governor."

But a much more amusing though less complimentary account was given by the doctor to his friend Mr. Finlaison, in a letter dated the 23rd of December 1816. Speaking of Sir Hudson Lowe's note to Bertrand, he says,—

"This threw them into the greatest consternation; and, notwithstanding all the vapouring of the morning and assertions of 'honour before life,' accompanied with gestures such as baring their bosoms, and protesting that a dagger should be passed through hearts faithful even in death, and which even in the last agonies would vibrate *only for the Emperor*, ere they would sign his degradation, Montholon, Las Cases, and Gourgaud came into Captain Poppleton's room in the dead of the night, with crest-fallen countenances, streaming eyes, and the declarations signed in their

[1] Récits, vol. i. pp. 419, 420: Las Cases' account is quite different from Montholon's (see Journal, Oct. 15, 1816).

[2] Voice, vol. i. p. 155.

hands, imploring of him to send them at that unseasonable hour of the night to the Governor:[1] so much had the fear of being sent away bewildered their intellects that they imagined themselves already on board the ship destined to convey them away. The next morning also Montholon went in to Poppleton again at five o'clock, begging of him to hurry the documents away, fancying every moment that he saw an officer and party in the road to bundle them on board of the ship. Bertrand was much more consistent, as his protestations against signing were not so violent." And in the same letter O'Meara says that, when Bonaparte observed to him that the French Generals had shown great devotion in signing the declaration, preferring to remain with him under all the restrictions, and against his own will and command, to going to Europe, "I replied, that I thought, if they were permitted to return to *Europe directly* instead of going to the Cape, in all probability they would not have been so ready to stay."

Count Bertrand signed his declaration the next morning, and thus all further difficulty on that subject was removed.

---

[1] This picture of weeping distress is maliciously drawn by O'Meara. It does not seem to have had any foundation in fact. Captain Poppleton merely says, "Between eleven and twelve o'clock on the night of the 15th of October, General Montholon, General Gourgaud, and Count Las Cases came to my room, with four sheets of paper, which they told me were the declarations required of them (three of them were signed by the above-named officers, and the other by all the domestics except one—Santini), requesting of me to forward them to the Governor. I was addressed by Count Las Cases, who said they were determined, if possible, not to quit Bonaparte; that they had signed these papers out of regard to him; that it was an act of their own, and not by the direction of Bonaparte; that he was unacquainted with it. I remarked that Count Bertrand's declaration was not amongst them. I was told General Bertrand's would be ready in the morning."

In the mean time, acting in conformity with the instructions he had received from England, which so strongly enforced the necessity of additional precaution, Sir Hudson Lowe framed a set of regulations, which were arranged alphabetically as follows:—

"HEADS OF PROPOSED ALTERATIONS IN THE REGULATIONS FOR THE PERSONS AT LONGWOOD.

"*A.* Longwood, with the road along the ridge by Hutt's Gate to the signal-gun near the Alarm-house, will be established as the limits. Sentries will designate the external boundary as well as that beyond which no person can approach Longwood House and garden without the Governor's permission.

"*B.* The road to the left of Hutt's Gate, and returning by Woody Ridge to Longwood, never having been frequented by General Bonaparte since the Governor's arrival, the posts which observed it will, for the greater part, be withdrawn. Should he, however, wish at any time to ride in that direction, by giving the orderly officer timely notice of it he will meet with no impediment.

"*C.* If he is desirous to extend his ride in any other direction, an officer of the Governor's personal staff will always (on being informed in sufficient time) be prepared to attend him; and, should time not admit, the orderly officer at Longwood. The officer who attends him will be instructed not to approach towards him, unless so requested, nor to interfere in any respect with him during his ride, except so far as duty may require on observing any departure from the established rules, when he will ride up and respectfully inform him of it.

"*D.* The regulations already in force for preventing communication with any persons without the Go-

vernor's permission will be required to be strictly adhered to; it is requested, therefore, General Bonaparte will abstain from entering any houses, or engaging in conversation with the persons he may meet[1] (except so far as the ordinary salutations of politeness, with which every one will be instructed to treat him, may appear to require), unless in the presence of a British officer.

"*E.* Persons who, with General Bonaparte's acquiescence, may at any time receive passes from the Governor to visit him, cannot use such passes to communicate with the other persons of his family, unless it is so specifically expressed in them.

"*F.* At sunset the garden enclosure round Longwood House will be regarded as the limits. Sentries will be placed round it at that hour, but will be posted in such a manner as not to incommode General Bonaparte with their personal observation of him, should he continue his walks in the garden after that time. They will be drawn round the house as heretofore during the night, and the limits will remain closed until the sentries are withdrawn entirely from the house and garden in the morning.

"*G.* All letters for Longwood will be put up by the Governor under a sealed envelope, and the packet sent to the orderly officer, to be delivered sealed to any officer in attendance upon General Bonaparte, who will be thus assured that the contents will have been made known to no other person than the Governor. In the same manner, all letters from persons at Longwood must be delivered to the orderly officer, put up under an outer envelope *sealed* to the address

[1] See Lord Bathurst's instructions on this point in Mr. Goulburn's letter of the 20th of July, 1816, p. 309, *ante*.

of the Governor, which will assure that no other person than himself will be acquainted with their contents.

"*H.* No letters are to be received or sent, nor written communications of any kind pass or be made known, except in the above manner; nor can any correspondence be permitted within the island, except such communications as it may be indispensable to make to the purveyor, the notes containing which must be delivered open to the orderly officer, who will be charged to forward them.

"The above alterations will commence on the 10th instant.

"H. LOWE.

"St. Helena, October 9, 1816."

On the 11th Sir Hudson Lowe wrote to Earl Bathurst, and explained at length his reasons for the alterations he had made in the Regulations. He said,—

"The first alteration is that with respect to his limits, a part of which, never having once been used by him since my arrival here, has, on account of the numerous posts and sentries which were uselessly employed in guarding it, been struck off. He is, however, still at full liberty to proceed there when he gives notice of it to the orderly officer in waiting, who is directed either to follow him, or to send out parties for the day to the posts which were before occupied; and the principal advantage, therefore, of the change is, that the actual limits are much more precisely defined than before, and that the officers and persons of his suite have no longer the same pretext for ranging about a part of the country where there are a greater number of inhabitants' houses than in any other, and with some of whose proprietors attempts have been

made to tamper or to communicate more freely than I think it advisable to permit, and who have been thus drawn into a greater degree of familiarity with General Bonaparte himself than strict prudence should allow.

"Another point on which alteration has ensued is that of the sentries mounting guard over Longwood at sunset, instead of nine o'clock at night as before. With that deference, however, to General Bonaparte's feelings which I have under all circumstances endeavoured to evince, I have abstained from directing them to be posted round the house until the former hour, and only placed them round the garden, in such situation as least exposes to their incommoding him by their observation if walking in the garden after sunset, whilst they must see him, or any other person, should an attempt be made to pass beyond the limit of the garden after that hour. By his own desire, and even upon some complaints being made that it was not more speedily done, an enclosure has been recently thrown round the garden to prevent cattle and sheep from entering it; and it has been constructed in such a manner as to yield to the above arrangement, though, from the scattered style in which the buildings at Longwood were commenced, and partly finished, before my assuming the government here, the enclosure is still far from being so defined and complete as I should desire. A plan which I shall transmit to your Lordship will point out the nature of its localities.

"The alterations in other points it is unnecessary to comment upon. There is still a considerable period of the day (from the time the sentries are withdrawn in the morning until sunset) in which it is by no means difficult for General Bonaparte to effect his escape from the boundaries assigned as his limits during the day. Longwood, with the road to the

Alarm-house, contains a circuit of about eight miles. It is impossible so effectually to watch all their extent by sentries as to prevent his passing unperceived through some part of the line, particularly in rainy and foggy weather. The principal security, therefore, during the day, rests in his being seen, or its being ascertained by some other nearly certain means that he is in the house in the morning and at the close of the day. . . . .

"When I waited on Sir Samuel Shepherd[1] I expressed my desire the law should extend if possible to the prevention of any correspondence or commmunication (the same as with an enemy), unless with the express authority of Government. At present no penalty attaches to the receipt or delivery of a letter or written communication, except its evident design is to facilitate evasion from this island. How far General Montholon's letter (without date), received on the 24th of August,[2] comes under such a construction, I am unable from my own legal knowledge to form any opinion upon. The object in writing it is not concealment, but publicity; its matter perhaps much worse than any mere project to facilitate escape. Whether it comes under the provision of the Act I am unable to determine; but I should be happy to have legal opinion whether the calumnies which are levelled in it against me are not actionable at common law, both in respect to the writer (whether the letter becomes printed or not) or in respect to those who have endeavoured to circulate its contents; and whether, particularly in the event of its publication, I shall be authorised to carry on any action against the writers and circulators of it in this place, or in any other

[1] Solicitor-General. Vide pp. 119, 120, *ante*. [2] Vide p. 257, *ante*.

where they may happen to be, both for the defamation as affecting my public situation, as well as against my private character?"

The Regulations thus altered are those which O'Meara calls "the infamous, the nation-degrading Restrictions;" after which, he says, "I determined to abjure Sir Hudson Lowe and his gang as soon as my appointment had been confirmed in writing."[1] We shall soon see how much truth there is in this assertion.

In order, however, that this question may be properly understood, and because it is one of the most important connected with Napoleon's captivity, and in relation to the conduct of the Governor, it is essential to explain more at length what was the exact nature and amount of the alterations made by Sir Hudson Lowe in the Regulations as they existed at the time of his arrival at St. Helena, and his reasons for the change. For this purpose we shall quote a despatch which he wrote to Earl Bathurst on the 30th of December, 1817, and in which he went fully into the subject:—

"For the better understanding of the motives and principle of any regulations established by me which may be regarded as differing from those of my predecessor, I shall briefly state the manner in which I found things regulated at the time of my arrival here and the cause of any alterations which afterwards followed. Napoleon Bonaparte, with all his followers and attendants (the Count and Countess Bertrand excepted), was established at Longwood, with a limit of twelve miles round the place of his residence, within which he and all individuals of his family were

[1] Vide pp. 79, 80, *ante*. See Napoleon's Observations on the altered Regulations, and the Governor's Notes on those Observations, amongst the Letters and Documents at the end of the volume.

permitted to take exercise, on foot or on horseback, at any time during the day and until nine o'clock at night, unaccompanied by a British officer or any person in authority whatever. At nine o'clock sentries were posted round the house, and no person was permitted to quit it until after daylight. An officer of the rank of Captain was stationed at Longwood House, who had orders to attend Napoleon Bonaparte if he wished to ride in any other part of the island beyond his limits. This officer had directions to report twice a-day, morning and afternoon, Napoleon Bonaparte's actual presence at Longwood, the knowledge of which he was to endeavour to obtain, when he could not satisfy himself on the point by his own personal observation, from Mr. O'Meara, or by any other means which might occur to him. As the signal was made before sunset, the hour of which varies during the year from half-past five until half-past six, when the shortness of the twilight renders it dark almost immediately after, the period consequently between the time when the signal was made and nine o'clock at night, when the sentries were posted round the house, remained exposed to great uncertainty. No person could traverse any part of the island after nine o'clock without the countersign; but until that hour a free passage was permitted to every one. Thus nearly three hours of dark were left during almost the whole of the year, during which no kind of internal restraint whatever could be considered as operating either on Napoleon Bonaparte himself or on the persons of his suite, and it was particularly during this period opportunities of clandestine communication, if such were sought after, could be most readily availed of. A house was constructing for Count Bertrand within the precincts of Longwood, but in the mean time he resided at Hutt's Gate (a mile or thereabouts from Long-

wood), at which place was a post with orders to prevent any person not military from passing to the eastward in the direction of Longwood, except such as had the Governor's permission, provision-carriers to the camp and Longwood, and other persons having business at one or the other place. It was, as I believe, originally intended that the house in which Count Bertrand lived should be included in that part to which no person should be permitted to pass without the Governor's permission, but this state of things did not exist at the time of my arrival. A guard was placed at the entrance of Longwood grounds, with orders to prevent any person whatever from visiting at Longwood House without a pass from the Governor, the Admiral, Brigadier-General Sir George Bingham, or an invitation to serve as a pass from Count Bertrand. The house in which Count Bertrand lived at Hutt's Gate being without the precincts of Longwood, no restraint whatever scarcely could be considered as existing upon communication with him. A caution once given to the sentry to refer any inhabitants who might wish to visit there to an officer who lived close to the spot, in order to pass them in, gave the greatest offence, being considered to be entirely repugnant to the state of things that existed before I arrived here. Strangers and passengers arriving by the East India Company's vessels rarely, it is true, went up to visit Count Bertrand without obtaining a permission to go beyond Hutt's Gate, as their ulterior object was always to visit Napoleon Bonaparte; but having once the permission to pass Hutt's Gate, no restraint whatever existed upon their communication as often as they pleased with Count Bertrand, and visits, in conjunction either with the inhabitants or the officers of the island, were so frequent that the house might be literally said

to be almost always full. Sir George Cockburn himself saw the inconvenience resulting from this, and told me, had he foreseen Count Bertrand's house at Longwood would have been so long constructing, he should not have given him the latitude he then possessed, and said he thought I ought to put some restraint upon the communication with him. Though the guard at Hutt's Gate had orders to prevent all persons not military, with the exceptions as above stated, from passing in the direction of Longwood, yet, as the road between Hutt's Gate and the Alarm-house and that to the southward of Hutt's Gate, with the valleys and houses on either side, were within the limits, and [there were] no restraints upon any individual whatever, even strangers who might arrive, in communicating with them, it is evident that all the checks imposed were partial, and might be rendered inoperative by the most moderate invention, in arranging meetings with any person at any place and at any time until nine at night, without any infraction even of any existing rule, either on the part of Napoleon Bonaparte or any of his followers, and that the only check consequently was on the discretion of the individuals at Longwood, or in the force of the proclamations issued against unauthorised correspondence or communication, which, where accidental rencontres or those which might be represented as such occurred, would always find an excuse on the score of accident for their infraction. The instructions of Government in respect to open correspondence I found in full force, so far as related to letters destined for or received from Europe. I was never informed that any correspondence, whether by letter, notes, or otherwise, was permitted within the island. Sir George Cockburn acquainted me he had acceded to their desires at

Longwood in making an arrangement by which, if an invitation was sent by Count Bertrand to any person who had been presented to Napoleon Bonaparte to dine with him, it was to be received at the guard as a pass without any reference to him. This was the only point of view in which Count Bertrand's passes were spoken of to me; but as invitations or passes might be sent under sealed envelopes through any hand, it was thus easy by such means to commence a species of correspondence which, by degrees, would draw into precedent for notes or letters on other subjects, as experience proved it did. It is obvious while such a liberty existed I was dependent wholly on the discretion of the persons at Longwood, or those whom they might address, and that all the rules with respect to correspondence in general might be rendered entirely nugatory, even under the cover of an authority from me, where there was permission to send sealed notes through uncertain hands without their being shown to me. Count Bertrand has said Sir George Cockburn authorised a sealed correspondence. I have stated it was only a toleration arising out of the cause above mentioned; but from whatever cause springing, it is certain notes did pass, and the first example I had that no bounds of proper discretion were likely to be followed was by having a sealed note brought to me by an inhabitant of the island, which he had received at Count Bertrand's, with a request to deliver it to the French Commissioner, whom Napoleon Bonaparte had refused to receive the visit of, but with whom an attempt was then made to correspond and communicate in a private manner at Count Bertrand's house by the persons of his suite almost immediately after his arrival. I have thus touched upon the leading regulations in force at my arrival, and stated in a

general manner some of the inconveniences against which they did not appear to me sufficiently to guard. My instructions were the same as those of Sir George Cockburn, with the sole addition (which, though not contained in his instructions, had been acted up to nearly in the same manner as if it had been expressed in them) that Napoleon Bonaparte was not to communicate with any person whatever excepting through my agency. My instructions, however, contained a communication of which Sir George Cockburn could not have been well apprised at the time of his establishing the first regulations on this island, viz. that regarding the appointment of the Commissioners of the Allied Powers, who, with their respective families or foreign attendants, soon after arrived at the island, and for my guidance in respect to whom I had no other instruction than that contained in the Convention at Paris. However I might have thought some points not sufficiently considered with respect to permanent arrangement, I forbore making any change until circumstances proved to me that inconveniences were likely to follow. One of the first points of duty to which my attention was required after my arrival here was to obtain from the persons who followed Napoleon Bonaparte to this island a declaration of their voluntary residence upon it. The papers given in by them severally on this occasion spoke only of the rank and title of Emperor, and evinced that they all considered themselves, or wished to have themselves considered, as political characters, bound only by their allegiance to him, and that under the assumption of such a character it was permitted to utter language of the most marked disrespect towards the Government through whose consideration they had been permitted to attend him to this island, and

against the authority under whom they were placed. This spirit and feeling was in full operation at the time of my receiving instructions from Government to demand fresh declarations from the officers who had accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte hither. It was a particular request of Count Bertrand to me that I would give him in writing an abstract of the several regulations to which he and the other persons who might subscribe to the declarations would be subject. This leading principle of the declaration was that the followers of Napoleon Bonaparte were to be subject whilst they remained on this island to precisely the same restrictions as himself, but they were at liberty to quit the island on giving timely notice thereof. I framed in consequence the Regulations of the 9th of October, the article most complained of in which is that wherein Napoleon Bonaparte, and consequently all his followers, are requested not to engage in prolonged conversations with the persons they may meet unless in the presence of a British officer. My original instructions prescribed that Napoleon Bonaparte should *always* be attended by a British officer, who, when he passed beyond the limits where the sentries might be placed, should have *one* orderly at least attendant upon him. The arrangement made by my predecessor had, however, given him an extent of twelve miles, within which he as well as all the persons of his suite might take exercise unaccompanied by any person. Within this range there were several inhabitants' houses as well as houses of free blacks and of slaves. The limit of twelve miles was (except in the immediate precinct of about four miles round his house) open for the greater part to all the inhabitants of the island, strangers, to the foreign Commissioners, and, in fact, to every person who had any business what-

ever either with the troops or inhabitants of the island residing in the district where his limits were placed. The attempts to elude the spirit of the established rules in respect to external communication had been particularly obvious. No sooner had Count Montholon addressed his remarkable letter without date to me, than passengers and strangers who had obtained my passes to Longwood were closeted by him or Count Las Cases, and had this letter shown to them, in order that they might disseminate its contents. They had also copies offered to them to take home. One gentleman in particular who suffered the letter to be read to him repeated its contents at the mess of the 53rd regiment only two days after I myself had received it. An officer of the 53rd regiment who was going to England was accosted by Captain Piontkowski with a request to allow him to show him the letter, in order that he might make its contents known in England; he was at the same time offered letters of recommendation from Captain Piontkowski in the name of Count Bertrand if he should go to Paris, and had flattering hopes held out to him of the reception he would in such case experience: One English person alone received a copy of this letter.[1] It remained in his possession for some days, and he confessed the intention of making extracts from it to send to England, but circumstances induced the disclosure that the letter had been received by him, and it was delivered up to me. I have it now in my possession in Count Montholon's own handwriting. These circumstances certainly presented a sufficient motive for laying some restrictions upon the intercourse with the followers of Napoleon Bonaparte, except in the presence of a British officer, not merely of such strangers

[1] The person here alluded to was O'Meara.

or other persons who might be permitted to visit him, but even with such as might be casually met with, particularly as the regulation to be established had regard to the permanent residence on the island of the persons for whom it was intended, and it would have been hardly just to them to have obtained their declarations and to have imposed fresh restrictions upon them immediately afterwards. It was soon discovered that the suggestion for the prevention of conversations except in the presence of a British officer had excited great anger and jealousy. The departure of Captain Piontkowski in the first instance, and afterwards that of Count Las Cases, appeared to render the enforcement of these rules less necessary, and I therefore rescinded them in a letter addressed to Count Bertrand, dated December 26. This letter, however, did not prove satisfactory, and I had several observations to answer in a paper sent to me the day after by Count Bertrand, with the signature of Napoleon to it. It is my reply to these observations which is designated under the title of the Restrictions of the 14th of March.[1] The leading article complained of in this paper is that wherein Napoleon Bonaparte and his officers are requested, if they ride in a particular direction, not to deviate from the principal road."

It appears then that, supposing the effect of the new regulations was to cut off from the original limits the road along Woody Ridge and the intervening valley or ravine, the space within which Napoleon might take exercise unattended by a British officer and free from interruption or observation had an ambit of eight miles. It was in the form of an irregular triangle,

[1] *i. e.* 14th of March, 1817. It must be remembered that the letter quoted in the text, which alludes to the so-called Restrictions of that date, was written in December, 1817.

the apex of which was Hutt's Gate, and to obtain access to Longwood from James Town it was necessary to pass that point which may be called the key of the position. Through the whole of this portion of the island Napoleon might range at will in the daytime in as much privacy as is enjoyed by any gentleman in his park in England. The reasons why he was not allowed free access to the ravine are sufficiently explained by Sir Hudson Lowe in his letter. For the purpose of exercise on horseback it would have added little to his convenience, and in it were scattered a number of cottages of native blacks into which it was not thought expedient that he should enter without some surveillance being kept over him. But it must be specially noticed that if Bonaparte at any time wished to make use of the road along Woody Ridge, which was reached by crossing the ravine, he had only to give notice to the orderly officer, and he might then ride there as free from control as if it were within the actual limits. The only restriction imposed upon him was a request that he would confine himself to the road itself, and not deviate in a lateral direction. And in fact the requirement as to notice to the orderly officer was never acted on, and Napoleon was allowed to use the road as part of his limits.[1]

When the nature and extent of the space thus afforded are thoroughly understood it is worse than idle to pretend that Napoleon was unnecessarily cramped in the enjoyment of personal liberty. In no other part of the island could he have had so wide a range allowed him, and nowhere else could he have had such facilities for exercise on horseback or in a carriage. Except in the camp at Deadwood and at the outposts

[1] See Sir Hudson Lowe's observations in No. 45, amongst the Letters and Documents at the end of the volume.

where picquets were stationed, not a soldier was to be seen keeping watch and ward over the captive in the daytime, but at night a cordon of sentries was drawn round the house, a measure of precaution to which it seems difficult for the most determined opponent of the regulations to object.

While on the subject of Napoleon's limits and the restrictions generally, we may mention that, on the 9th of October, 1817, the Governor transmitted to Count Bertrand a memorandum which stated that the "limits for exercise are at present the same, or nearly so, as were at first established. The Governor has no objection to extend them by the road round the Alarm House as far as Mr. Brooke's grounds, in which, as well as in those of Miss Mason, are both trees and shade, as much as can be found in almost any part of the island." And he added, with respect to VISITS, "the only real difference which exists in the Regulations at this moment and those established by Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn is, that Count Bertrand's invitations to Longwood must pass through the orderly officer.

"The Governor has no objection whatever against an open card or invitation being sent through the orderly officer to any of those persons under his authority who may have been once presented, or to any stranger passing by the island who may apply at Longwood to be introduced there; cards or invitations, when so sent, will be regarded as passes."

Also with regard to NIGHT SENTRIES: "The sentries before the Governor's arrival were not posted until 9 o'clock at night; at present they are placed round the garden after sunset, and are brought close to the house.

"The pointed instruction of the British Government on this head has already been made known.

The matter has been also discussed in Parliament: the Governor therefore cannot alter the rule. He will not object to extend the circle after sunset, so as to place the sentries more out of view from the garden (during the summer months), in order that exercise may be taken more free from any observation.

"These points being understood, and the rules which prescribe that no letter can be received or sent through any other channel than the Governor, or written communications of any kind pass except through the orderly officer, remaining in force, there will be no objection on his part to consider the Regulations of the 9th of October, 1816, and the modifications also of the 14th of March, 1817, as rescinded, leaving all other General Regulations established as heretofore."

On the 16th of October O'Meara wrote to the Governor and gave him an account of a conversation he had with Bonaparte that morning. The latter told him that he had sent for him in order that he might acquaint the Governor with his real sentiments, which he had dictated to St. Denis for that purpose. "'Here,' continued he, 'is what I intend to send to the Governor, which I have written myself, and of which he is now taking a copy.' While saying this, he took up a piece of paper, on which were written (I observed in his own handwriting) words and meaning similar to those in the paper afterwards given by him to me to be delivered to you, Sir. He read aloud the entire of it, every now and then stopping, and asking me if I perfectly understood it. After having finished reading it, he said, 'Take the copy of this as soon as St. Denis has finished it, and give it to the Governor, and acquaint him that such are my intentions. If he asks you why I did not sign it, tell him that I said it was

unnecessary, as I had read it out to you myself, and explained it to you in order that you might testify to it.' He then said that he had retained the title of 'Emperor Napoleon' in opposition to that of General Bonaparte, which last the English Ministry wished to give him, because, he said, he felt, as it were, a slap in the face whenever he was addressed General Bonaparte, because, if the French nation had a right to give him one title, they had an equal right to give him another. He said 'They may call me *Monsieur Napoléon*; but as that is a name too well known, and might, perhaps, recall recollections which it might be desirable should be forgotten, and, besides, as it is a name not consonant to the forms of society, it would perhaps be better to drop it. I would therefore (in that case) wish to be called either Colonel Meuron or Baron Duroc.' He here asked me if I knew who Duroc was; to which I replied in the affirmative. He then said he had been his Grand Maréchal, and was killed at Bautgen, I think it was. He continued, 'As Colonel is a title denoting military rank, perhaps it might give umbrage, and therefore probably it would be better to adopt that of Baron Duroc, which is the lowest feudal rank. Tell the Governor then,' continued he, 'that if he receives this communication and writes, or causes to be written, to Bertrand, that he acquiesces in either of them, such will be adopted. It will remove many difficulties which this title has thrown in the way, and will facilitate communication: it will be the first step, as to the propriety of which both of us agree; it will, perhaps, smooth the way. I caused this to be mentioned before to Admiral Cockburn by Montholon, who promised that he would acquaint the English Government with it, and I have since heard no more about it.' I asked him here whether the communication made by Montholon to Sir George

Cockburn was a written or a verbal one? He looked at me earnestly, and said, 'What, I suppose that you think Montholon has been telling me lies!' I smiled at this, and probably *looked* as if I thought so; and he continued, 'No.; it is not so.' I assure you that such a communication was made to him while I was at the Briars, one or two days before I left it."[1] He then rang the bell and called St. Denis, asked him if he had copied the paper, to which the other replied in the affirmative. He desired him to bring it to him, which he did accordingly. He (General Bonaparte) then took the paper which I have given to you, Sir, this morning, and made me read it out aloud, asked me if I perfectly comprehended it, and explained to me some part of the writing which was not very plain, underlined some parts of it himself, gave it to me himself, and desired me to go directly to the Governor and give it to him, and to acquaint him that that paper contained his sentiments."

The following is a translation of the paper received by O'Meara from Bonaparte on the 16th of October:—

"It occurs to me that, in the conversation which has taken place between General Lowe and several of these gentlemen, things were said in reference to my position which are not in conformity with my ideas. I placed my abdication in the hands of the representatives of the nation, in favour of my son. I removed to England with confidence, either to reside there or in America, in the strictest retirement, and under the name of a Colonel who fell at my side; *resolved to remain a stranger to all political affairs of whatsoever nature they might be.* Arrived on board the Northumberland, I was told that I was a prisoner-of-war, that

[1] It is almost needless to mention that this allusion to Count Montholon is *omitted* in O'Meara's printed work. See 'Voice,' vol. i. pp. 156, 157.

I should be transported beyond the line, and that I was General Bonaparte. I was necessitated to retain ostensibly my title of Emperor Napoleon in opposition to the title of General Bonaparte, which they desired to impose upon me. Seven or eight months ago Count Montholon proposed, as a means of removing the little inconveniences which were ever recurring, the adoption of an ordinary name; the Admiral deemed it expedient to write to London on the subject, and there the affair dropped. At present I am addressed by a name which has at least this advantage—that it does not prejudice the past, but which is not in conformity with the rules of society. *I am quite ready to take any ordinary name,* and I repeat that, when it may be deemed proper to release me from this cruel abode, *I am resolved to remain a stranger to politics, whatever may be passing in the world.* Such is my resolve, and anything which may have been said different from this would not be the fact."

O'Meara delivered this paper the same day to the Governor, who deemed it of so much importance that he required him to authenticate it by an affidavit. But as he thought it would be more satisfactory if the paper had Napoleon's signature, he desired O'Meara to communicate this to him, but at the same time to say that the Governor did not intend to convey the slightest imputation on its authenticity, either as to its words or spirit, but simply to obviate any objections that might be raised against it.

O'Meara immediately went to Bonaparte, who asked him if he had brought the paper back. On being answered in the negative, he said that it was not his intention that it should be sent to the British Government; that he only intended it should be read and shown to the Governor and then returned to himself. As he seemed really anxious to get the paper back,

Sir Hudson Lowe allowed him to have it, but first took a copy of it, which as well as the original he caused O'Meara to attest upon oath.

Next day O'Meara wrote to Sir Hudson Lowe and told him that he had just had an interview with Bonaparte, and some conversation with him respecting his proposed plan of a change of name. O'Meara said,—"He professed his willingness to adopt one of those mentioned yesterday, and declared *positively*, that, if you would take upon yourself to approve of it and that if you would give to understand to Bertrand, or even to me, that you consented to it, and that you would address him accordingly, he would write a letter himself and sign it, declaring that he would adopt one of the names proposed. This he said in a manner which was so clear as to leave no doubt of his meaning. He added also that 'one half of the disgusts I have experienced here (la metà dei disgusti che ho provato qua) arose from that title.' From what he afterwards said —as he asked me whether I was going to Plantation House this day, and, on my replying in the negative, he said, 'It will be time enough to-morrow'—I am inclined to think that he intends making a communication to you on the subject to-morrow."

On the 18th Sir Hudson Lowe informed Bertrand by letter that it was his intention to send away Captain Piontkowski, Santini, Rousseau, and one of the Archambaults, or the two Archambaults without Rousseau, and that he wished them to embark before two o'clock in the following afternoon.

On the same day O'Meara called upon Sir Hudson and told him that Las Cases' son had that morning delivered to him a sealed paper without any address, saying, "the Emperor had sent it to him." He opened the cover and found that it enclosed the original paper dictated by Bonaparte. He then called on Las

Cases to ask what he was to do with the paper, but the Count said he did not know; the Emperor had simply told him "to send it to Dr. O'Meara." Sir Hudson Lowe desired O'Meara to keep the paper in his own possession, return to Longwood, and endeavour to ascertain what were Bonaparte's real intentions on the subject.

In a private letter to Lord Bathurst on the 18th Sir Hudson Lowe remarked,—

"Your Lordship will observe the pertinacity with which every one strove to make it appear they were resolved sooner to die than sign a paper which derogated from the respect they owed to the 'Emperor,' and that General Bonaparte himself would force even his valet-de-chambre to quit him sooner than suffer him to sign such a declaration as that presented: yet on the very next day the whole signed, and General Bonaparte makes known his intention to drop the Imperial title."

On the following day, the Governor, accompanied by Major Gorrequer, had a long interview with Count Bertrand on the subject of the proposed change of name. The Count said,[1] "the Emperor had foreseen how embarrassing the retention of that title would be to him in various circumstances; that for his own convenience among a few persons who accompanied him, and to avoid restraint in his relations with them, it was desirable not to continue it; that he besides knew he could not use it in England, nor was it customary for sovereigns, except when in their capitals, in their courts, or with their armies, &c., to keep up the use of their title; when they travelled it was generally under an incognito name. If it was, therefore, found expedient in such cases, how much more so was it

[1] The passages quoted in the text are taken from Major Gorrequer's minutes.

after abdication; that, if sovereigns divested themselves of their title when travelling amongst their subjects, it appeared ridiculous to retain it at St. Helena; that the Emperor had, whilst residing at the Briars, sent Count Montholon to Sir George Cockburn (with whom the former then happened to be in communication) to propose to him the adoption of the name of Colonel Meuron; but Sir George remarked that, this name belonging to a family, it did not appear so free from objections as a feudal one would be, which, not being that of any particular person, seemed to him most advisable to take. The Admiral's answer being made known to the Emperor, he remarked, he was a soldier, and a name of that kind became him best; he had fixed upon that of Colonel Meuron merely because the person who bore it was his aide-de-camp and was killed at his side. . . . . General Bertrand descanted upon the injustice and the impropriety of the British Government having fixed upon the appellation of General, after having treated with him as a Sovereign, and the King of England having styled him 'Monsieur, mon frère,' and had ambassadors residing at his court. The Governor here observed he did not recollect any circumstance in which the King could have written to him and addressed him as 'Monsieur, mon frère.' General Bertrand answered, it was when he was First Consul, and Lord Whitworth was sent to France, and afterwards on the occasion of Lord Lauderdale's going; for that no ambassador was ever sent without a letter from his own Sovereign to that near whom [qu. the court at which?] he was to reside, and such letters always began in those terms. . . . . The Governor remarked, there appeared to have been a great misconception as to the title by which the British Government had directed General Bonaparte to be called; that, though he might have been treated

with as Consul, that was an elective and not an hereditary title, and presented no proper form of appellation under which General Bonaparte could be designated; that he had never been acknowledged as Emperor, and General, therefore, was the only term which offered; that there was nothing to mortify or humiliate in it; on the contrary, it was the only distinctive rank by which they could direct him to be called. . . . After prolonging the conversation a little longer upon the same subject, the Governor said he was very glad he had received this explanation from General Bertrand; and, at parting, again asked him if the paper brought to him (the Governor) was to be considered as conveying General Bonaparte's real sentiments. He replied, 'Je crois qu'oui certainement.'"

On the 27th of October Sir Hudson Lowe transmitted to Lord Bathurst three plans of Longwood House, and observed in his despatch,—

"Many parts of the house are still in an exceeding bad state, particularly the apartments of Las Cases; and the house, as is evident from the plan, has the disadvantage of being built in a most straggling and disconnected manner. It is almost wholly a ground-floor, so that every window in it may serve also as a door. There is no enclosed area round it except the garden, which, as will be observed, is very extensive. Eight sentries mount [guard] round the house, and four in the garden, during the night-time."

In a letter from him to Earl Bathurst on the 30th of October occurs the following anecdote of Bonaparte:—

"General Bonaparte continues indisposed with a

swelled face and breakings out. He is averse to the use of any applications to it, but has recently asked for a *warming-pan*, which, as no such thing was to be found in the island, we have been compelled to get made for him.[1] Dr. O'Meara related to me yesterday a very characteristic observation of this remarkable personage. He asked him, on seeing that Dr. O'Meara had taken his oath to the authenticity of the paper he had brought to me,[2] in what manner he had sworn to it. Dr. O'Meara replied 'On the New Testament.' '*Then you are such a fool*,'[3] was his reply. The latter is a particularly favourite word of his."

Another anecdote of the same nature was related by Sir Hudson to Lord Bathurst in a letter of the 3rd of November :—

"Cipriani came out one day from General Bonaparte's room to Dr. O'Meara, saying, in a manner indicative of great surprise, 'My master is certainly beginning to lose his head. He begins to believe in God, you may think. He said to the servant who was shutting the windows, "Why do you take from us the light which God gives us?" Oh, certainly he loses his head. He began at Waterloo, but now it is certain.' Then, continuing to speak of himself, Cipriani added, 'I do not believe in God, because, if there were one, he would not have allowed a man who has done so much harm to live so long; and he does not believe in God, because, if he believed, he would not have caused so many millions of men to be killed in this world, for fear of meeting them in the other.'"

[1] Count Las Cases says in his Journal, "As a substitute for a warming-pan the Emperor has been obliged to have holes bored in one of the large silver dishes used for keeping the meat warm at table."

[2] Vide p. 349, *ante*.

[3] "Anche voi avete queste coglioneria."

O'Meara, on the 31st, transmitted to the Governor an account of a very interesting conversation which he had with Bonaparte respecting the battle of Waterloo; and as it differs in some points, and especially in the expressions used, from the narrative he has published,[1] it is here given at length.

"Sir, "Longwood, October 31, 1816.

"The following conversation, which took place a few days past between General Bonaparte and myself, may probably not be uninteresting to you, as in it is explained his opinion respecting the great battle which decided the fate of Europe and of him; though I must think that feelings of jealousy towards the great Commander and the troops by whose united efforts he was foiled must have, in a great measure, formed that opinion:—'The worst thing,' said he, 'that ever England did was that of endeavouring to make herself a great military nation. In doing that she must always be the slave of Russia, Prussia, or Austria, or at least in some degree subservient to them, because she has not enough of men to combat on the continent either France or any of the others, and consequently must hire men from some of them; whereas at sea you are so superior, your sailors so much better, that you would always be superior, and could command all the others with safety to yourselves and but little comparative expense. Your soldiers, too, have not the qualities for a military nation; they are not equal in agility, address, or intelligence to the French, and when they meet with a reverse their discipline is very bad. When they get from under the fear of the lash, you can get them to do nothing, and in a retreat they cannot be managed; and if they meet with wine

[1] Vol. i. pp. 173-178.

or spirits they are so many devils (sono tanti diavoli), and there is no longer any subordination. I saw myself the retreat of Moore, and I never in my life witnessed anything so bad as the conduct of the soldiers; it was impossible to collect them or make them do anything; nearly all were drunk. The officers, too, depend too much upon interest for promotion. Your army,' continued he, 'is certainly brave, nobody can deny it. If you had lost the battle of Waterloo, what a state would England have been in! the flower of your army destroyed, for not a man would have escaped, not even Lord Wellington himself!' I told him here that Lord Wellington had determined never to quit the field of battle *alive*. He replied, 'He could not leave it; he could not retreat; he would have been destroyed with his whole army; he said so himself to that cavalry officer who was wounded. If Grouchy had come up at that time instead of the Prussians, not a man would have escaped.' I now asked him if he had not believed that the Prussians who advanced on his right were Grouchy's division, for a long time? He replied, 'To be sure I did; and I can even now scarcely account for the reason why it was not Grouchy's division and not them.' I then asked him what he supposed would have been the event if *neither Grouchy* nor the *Prussians* had come up that day, whether it would not have been a drawn battle; whether both armies would not have kept their ground? He replied, 'No; the English army would have been destroyed; they were defeated before mid-day (mezzo giorno). I would have gained everything; I had gained everything; I beat the Prussians; but accident, or more likely *destiny*, decided that Lord Wellington should gain it, and he did so. He was fortunate; accident and des-

tiny favoured him. I could scarcely have believed he would have given me battle, because, if he had retreated as he ought to have done to Antwerp, I must have been overwhelmed by armies of three or four hundred thousand men coming against me, and against whom I could not possibly resist. Besides, if they intended to give battle, it was the greatest *coglioneria* in the world to separate the Prussian and English armies: they ought to have been united, and I cannot conceive the reason of their separation. It was also *coglioneria* in him to hazard a battle in a place where, if defeated, all must have been lost, for he could not retreat.' (Here he said something about *a forest* as a reason for Lord Wellington not having it in his power to retreat, which I did not distinctly hear.) 'He would have been altogether destroyed; besides, he suffered himself to be surprised by me. He ought to have had all his army encamped from the beginning of June, as he must have known that I intended to attack him: he might have lost everything by it; it was a great fault on his part; but he has been fortunate, and everything he did will meet with applause. My intentions were to destroy the English army; this I knew would produce an immediate change of Ministry. The indignation against the Ministry for having caused the loss of forty thousand of the flower of the English army, of the sons of the first families, and others who would have perished there, would have excited such a popular commotion that they would have been turned out: the people would have said, 'What is it to us who is on the throne of France, Louis or Napoleon? are we to sacrifice all our blood to place on the throne a detested family? No; we have suffered enough, let them fight it out amongst them; it's no affair of ours.' The

English would have made peace and withdrawn from the coalition; the Saxons, Bavarians, Belgians, Wirtemburghers, and others would have joined me; the Russians would have made peace. I would have been quietly seated on the throne; I would have made peace with all, which would have been permanent, for what could France do after the treaty of Paris? What was to be feared from her? This was my reason for attacking the English. I had succeeded before twelve o'clock; everything was mine, I might almost say, but destiny and accident decided it otherwise. The English fought bravely doubtless, nobody can deny it, but they would have been all destroyed! What would have been the state of the English army after the loss of forty thousand of their best troops? for I suppose that there were about so many English in the field.' I asked after this if the retaining of Malta by the English was the real cause of the war? He replied at first it was, but afterwards seemed to say that the war would have broken out even if that pretext had not been in the way. He added, 'Two days before the departure of Lord Whitworth from Paris, he offered to the Ministers and others about me *thirty millions* of francs if I would consent that Malta should belong to the English, and also to acknowledge me King of France.' Such, Sir, was the conversation, which I took down in writing *directly* after leaving him, and the correctness of which I can assert; and have the honour to remain, &c.

"BARRY E. O'MEARA."

Before quitting the month of October it will be interesting to give some quotations from a long letter written by O'Meara to Mr. Finlaison, from which one or two extracts have been already taken. The letter is dated the 10th of October:—

"I forgot to mention that he made to me one day a long complaint about 'The Times' newspaper being the one sent to him. He said, 'They send me "The Times," that infamous paper—the journal of the Bourbons. When I returned from Elba I found amongst the papers of the Bourbons an account of a sum of 6000 francs monthly paid by them to the *editors* of "The Times," with a hundred copies of the paper monthly; also I found the *receipt* of the *editors* acknowledging it, signed by them.' He also said that he had received several offers from the *editors* of London papers, and amongst others 'The Times,' to write for him for payment even before he went to Elba. He added, 'I am sorry I did not accept of their offers, as my name would not have been so hated by the English if I had done so: the papers in England form the public opinion.'

"I beg you not to imagine that I participate in Bonaparte's sentiments because I record his words, or that I by any means vouch for the truth of his assertions; on the contrary, several of them I know to be incorrect (such as Sir Hudson's putting his hand upon his sword, and all that coarse personal abuse and obloquy vented by him, &c.); but as you have said in your confidential letter that Mr. Croker wishes to hear everything that I can pick up concerning him, I have thought it right that Ministers should be in possession of his *real* mode of speaking and thinking. You must be well aware that I could not make a practice of communicating Bonaparte's language to Sir Hudson Lowe, as it could not produce any good purpose; on the contrary, could not fail to aggravate and render ten times worse the bad understanding which already prevails between them; and my situation would be converted into that of an *incendiary*; neither am I

placed about him as a *spy*. Doubtless I would think it my duty, and would *instantly* communicate to Sir Hudson any suspicions I might have of a plan for taking him off the island, or if I saw any improper communication; or, as I have already done, endeavour to accommodate matters between them. Sir Hudson wishes that I should tell him everything. I am convinced that, on the perusal of the above pages, Ministers will be of the same opinion with me, viz. that the disclosure of them indiscriminately could produce no good and could *not fail to do mischief*. I would wish, consistent with Bonaparte's personal security, to ameliorate his situation as much as lay in my power, instead of irritating against him the only person in the island who has it in his power to fulfil that object, by indiscreet communications of, I may say, confidential conversations."

The following is O'Meara's description of the style of living of the French exiles, and serves to explain the immense expenditure incurred for their table. We shall look in vain through his *printed* pages for a passage in which he calls them, "except one or two, the greatest gluttons and epicures he ever saw:"—

"With respect to the allowance within which all the expenses were directed to be comprised, viz. 8000*l.* sterling per annum, to which Sir Hudson Lowe has, *on his own responsibility*, since added 4000*l.* yearly, in my opinion a due regard has not been paid to circumstances, and I do not think even this latter sum will be sufficient. The Ministers, when they fixed 8000*l.* as the maximum of expenses, doubtless thought that almost all the Generals and their families would embrace the opportunity offered them of leaving him,

which, however, has not been the case, and in consequence Sir Hudson increased the sum to 12,000*l.* Perhaps it may be thought presumption in me to offer an opinion about a matter which, doubtless, abler heads than mine have maturely discussed; but nevertheless I will venture to suggest something which might perhaps tend to explain why it is not sufficient. You perhaps are not aware of the French mode of living and their cookery; they have in fact two dinners every day—one at eleven or twelve o'clock, to which joints, roast and boiled, with all their various hashes, ragoûts, fricasees, &c., are served up, with wine and liqueurs, and another at eight P.M., which only differs from the first in being supplied with more dishes. Besides these two meals, they all have (except Bonaparte himself, who only eats twice a-day, certainly very heartily) something like an English breakfast in *bed*, at between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and a luncheon with wine at four or five in the afternoon. The common notion of the English eating more animal food than the French is most incorrect; I am convinced that between their two dinners and luncheon they consume three or four times as much as any English family composed of a similar number of persons. These two dinners then, the first of which they have separately in their respective rooms, cause a great consumption of meat and wine, which, together with their mode of cookery, require a great quantity of either oil or butter—both of which are excessively dear in this place (and you may as well attempt to deprive an *Irishman* of *potatoes* as a *Frenchman* of his *oil*, or some substitute for it). Their '*soupes consommées*' (for they are, except one or two, the greatest gluttons and epicures I ever saw), producing great waste of meat in a place where the necessaries of life

are so dear, altogether render necessary a very great expenditure of money daily.

"In my opinion one of the following measures must be adopted, viz., to send away some of the Generals and their families; to increase the allowance granted by Government on the plan pointed out above, or some one resembling it. By the last orders he [Bonaparte] has been restricted from speaking to any inhabitant or other person, except in the presence of a British officer, which has annoyed him greatly; and he declared to me yesterday that he would endeavour to get a letter to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent himself complaining of it. I enclose you the famous letter dictated by Buonaparte containing a list of their supposed grievances.[1] The rest of this communication I will forward in the course of a few hours, if the Révolutionnaire does not sail. I must beg of you to bear in mind that I am only the reporter and not the participator of the greatest part of the conversation enclosed. I must also beg that the abusive part of it may not be made known to the Governor, who does not wish me to communicate even with Mr. Croker."

On the 1st and 5th of November more plate was broken up for sale; but we may quote even Count Montholon's work to show that the scheme was an experiment to try and impose upon the Governor, and excite sympathy in Europe for the condition of Napoleon, by creating a belief that he had no funds and was not sufficiently supplied with the necessaries or comforts of life. Speaking of the second sale of plate, Montholon says,—

[1] Namely, Count Montholon's letter of the 23rd of August, so often referred to.

"This time the blow was again violent to Sir Hudson Lowe; but he made no alteration in our position; and when the produce of the sale was exhausted, he again demanded that I should provide for the expenses, under pain of a proportionate reduction in the provisions.

"The Emperor, on his side, remained firm. I was to persist in saying that his plate was his only resource at St. Helena; and I received, for the third time, the order to have all the plate broken up, with the exception of twelve covers. Fresh remarks, on my part, would have been useless and unbecoming; I refrained from them, and the Emperor believed himself obeyed. Four baskets of broken plate, weighing altogether 290 lbs. 12 oz., were conveyed from Longwood on the 25th of December, 1816, and dinner was served on bad china, brought by Cipriani from James Town. When Sir Hudson Lowe was made acquainted with this *third* and *last* despatch, and the purchase of the china, he acknowledged himself conquered; he came to express to me his lively regret, and plainly showed how much *afraid he was* of blame from his Government. He told me that he only acted on the conviction that we had much gold at Longwood; that he had been assured so; and that he would never have allowed a single piece of plate to be broken, could he have supposed that matters would go so far as to reduce General Bonaparte to eat off dishes like those of the lowest colonist in the island; that he would send the next day to the Cape of Good Hope and procure a suitable service, until he could receive one from England. The Emperor was enchanted with the account which I gave him of this communication; but his joy was changed into perfect disgust when he sat down to his dinner served on the china brought by

Cipriani. The physical effect was such that he ate nothing, and said to me, on rising from table, 'It must be allowed, my son, that we are all great children. Can you conceive that I could not conquer my disgust at this badly-served dinner—I, who, when I was young, ate from black pottery? In truth I am ashamed of myself to-day.' 'Let the shame be of short duration,' replied I, 'for to-morrow your Majesty will dine with appetite.' 'I hope so,' answered he, 'for this would be too foolish.' His joy was childish when, next morning, M. Marchand brought to him in the bath his *soupe à la reine* as usual in the little silver bowl which he had been accustomed for many years to see. He could not help thanking me with a smile for my disobedience, and I had great difficulty to keep my secret till dinner-time; but I remained firm, so great was my hope of giving him a few moments' agreeable impression when he saw his dinner served as usual. I was right; for when we entered the dining-room he took me by the ear, saying to me, in his joyous tone, 'Ha, ha! Mr. Rogue, you took upon yourself yesterday to make me pass an uncomfortable quarter of an hour; it is my turn to-day.' I confessed to him that, not being able to resolve to take from him his last luxury, I had put aside what was necessary for his personal use; but that, to make up for this, I had been obliged to take away all the plate in use at the Grand Marshal's. He laughed heartily at the fraud which my solicitude for his comfort had suggested to me, and said, 'Upon my faith, you have done well! and so much the better, that you have succeeded with this bandit Lowe as well as if I had not a single silver dish left. As to Bertrand, I am sorry that he has only crockery; it was his advice which I followed.'"

In his 'Voice from St. Helena,' under date Novem-

ber 5, 1816, O'Meara says,[1] "Sir Hudson desired me to write him a statement of my opinion of the health of General Bonaparte; cautioning me that in writing it I must bear in mind that the life of one man was not to be put in competition with the mischief he might cause were he to get loose, and that I must recollect General Bonaparte had been a curse to the world, and had caused the loss of many thousands of lives. That my situation was very peculiar, and one of great political importance."

We may entirely disbelieve that Sir Hudson Lowe ever gave any such caution, or made any such remarks. No hint or trace of anything that can justify the supposition occurs in O'Meara's private letters, or in any of the papers of Sir Hudson Lowe, and it rests entirely on the unsupported assertion of the former in a work written many years afterwards, when his object was to vilify as much as possible the character of the Governor. And, indeed, the statement is on the face of it absurd, for the expression of O'Meara's opinion as to the state of Bonaparte's health could have no connection with the alleged caution, unless indeed the writer means to insinuate that Sir Hudson Lowe intended to suggest that Napoleon's death might be ensured by medical treatment, and that O'Meara might prepare the world for such an event by representing beforehand that his health was giving way—in other words, that the Governor wished his captive to be murdered, but in such a way as to make it appear that he died from natural causes!

On the 10th of November O'Meara wrote his report, which he thus describes in his book:[2]—

"10th. Wrote a statement to Sir Hudson Lowe,

[1] Voice, vol. i. pp. 189, 190.

[2] Ibid., p. 213.

purporting it to be my opinion that a further confinement and want of exercise would be productive of some serious complaint to Napoleon, which in all probability would prove fatal to him."

This is substantially correct; but the surgeon ought to have had the candour to state that the continuance of confinement which he deprecates was Napoleon's own voluntary act; as he mentions in the report itself, in which, after giving some medical details, he says,—

"The above-mentioned appearances have been evidently occasioned by the mode of life he has adopted for some months past—viz. an almost total want of exercise, as he has not been on horseback more than once for near six months, and latterly scarcely ever even in the carriage, or out walking in the garden; confinement to his room for a succession of days, without even going out of it to dinner, being entirely occupied in such sedentary pursuits as reading or writing, in a room with the doors and windows so carefully closed as to impede the ingress of fresh air; to which may be added the probable state of his mind. I have frequently strongly endeavoured to inculcate to him the absolute necessity of taking some exercise, either on horseback or otherwise, with the daily use of the flesh-brush, but my recommendations have not as yet had any effect in inducing him to put in practice the first and most necessary part—viz. the exercise. . . . . By a timely adoption of the measures recommended to him, I have no doubt, Sir, that he would in a short time be restored to a perfect state of health."

CHAPTER IX.

DISCOVERY OF CLANDESTINE CORRESPONDENCE AND ARREST OF LAS CASES.

We now turn to an event which led to consequences of some importance, and has been the subject of much misrepresentation.

In the middle of November, Sir Hudson Lowe having received an intimation that a mulatto of the name of James Scott, who had been employed as a servant by Count Las Cases, was a person of suspicious character, and having heard that the Count had, in defiance of the established rules, made him the bearer of an important message to Baroness Stürmer, the wife of the Austrian Commissioner (which was immediately afterwards communicated by her husband to the Governor); finding also that the man had been taken as a servant by Count Las Cases without the sanction of Sir George Cockburn, he resolved to remove him from attendance on the Count. He, however, at the same time, gave him the choice of another servant. Las Cases declined to receive one, and contented himself with the assistance of one of the other servants of the establishment at Longwood. James Scott, the man who had been discharged, was ordered to call upon the Governor a day or two afterwards, and was interrogated by him as to any other letters or messages of which he might have been the bearer. He was at the same time particularly warned of the consequences of acting in contravention of the rule laid down on the subject. He denied having ever been the bearer or receiver of any other letter or communication than the one before

mentioned, and was sent away with a further caution as to the punishment which would ensue if anything of the kind in future was discovered. Some days afterwards, on the morning of the 25th of November, Sir Hudson Lowe was informed that a man of the name of John Scott was in waiting, who desired to speak to him on a particular matter. He proved to be the father of the servant who had been discharged from attendance on Las Cases; and he said that his son had been at Longwood the preceding day, and on his return had brought with him a red waistcoat which had been left behind, and had shown him certain papers and writings which he told him were a recommendation that had been given to him by Count Las Cases. The papers were a character as a servant, signed with Las Cases' name and sealed with his arms, and a slip of paper, with the address on it of Lady Clavering, Portland Place (the person to whom he was to present his recommendation). The writings were on two slips, of unequal length and breadth, of white silk taffeta, in the hand of Las Cases' son, of a character so very minute that without the use of a glass it was difficult to decipher the contents. One of these was a letter destined for Lady Clavering, and was complete; the other was the first part of an unfinished letter for Lucien Bonaparte, destined to be forwarded by her to Rome.[1] These pieces of silk taffeta had been sewed up in the lining of the waistcoat.

John Scott said to Sir Hudson Lowe that he had been struck with the danger to his son in becoming the bearer of such communications, and had told him he must forthwith carry the whole of the papers and writings to the Governor; he however did not bring his son with him, on account of his being so much

[1] These letters will be found amongst the Letters and Documents at the end of the volume.

frightened. The Governor warmly thanked the father for the honest manner in which he had conducted himself, and told him that he had taken the best means that could have been devised for lessening the magnitude of his son's offence. He immediately directed Lieutenant Pritchard to proceed and arrest James Scott, and in the mean time gave the pieces of silk taffeta to Major Gorrequer to make a complete transcript of the writing in a legible hand, so that no part of the sense might remain undiscovered. Whilst awaiting the arrest of Scott, and the copying of the letters, Sir Hudson went from his own residence in the country to the town, and, on his arrival there, found that the information given by John Scott the father had become public, from the fact of his having first spoken of it to persons whom he met before he had an interview with the Governor. He saw, therefore, that there was no time to be lost in making the arrest. He communicated his intentions to Sir Thomas Reade alone, and then returned to his own house, where the accused person, James Scott, had in the mean time been brought, and he there examined the contents of the writings which had been discovered. He next sent an order back to the town to Mr. Rainsford, Inspector of Police, desiring him to meet him on the road to Longwood. On his way thither he sent a message to Sir George Bingham, begging that he would accompany him. On his arrival at Longwood Sir Hudson Lowe first went to Count Bertrand, to whom he had a letter to deliver of some importance respecting his family; and he charged Sir Thomas Reade, in the mean time, to make inquiry from the orderly officer at Longwood as to how Count Las Cases was at that time employed. When the Governor left Count Bertrand, Sir Thomas Reade acquainted him that

the Count was walking in the garden with General Bonaparte, and that his son was in his room writing. As Sir Hudson wished to avoid arresting Las Cases in the presence of Bonaparte, and had determined not to be himself present when his person was secured, he intrusted the conduct of the matter entirely to Sir Thomas Reade and Mr. Rainsford, and left the grounds of Longwood with Sir George Bingham, giving, in his presence, at a short distance outside the barrier-gate, orders to those officers for the purpose. To be prepared in case of attempted resistance, he directed Sir Thomas Reade to take with him the Governor's orderly dragoon, in addition to the one in attendance upon himself, and ordered that a relief of sentries should be in readiness within call.

The mode in which the arrest was effected is detailed in the following report of Sir Thomas Reade to the Governor:—

"I proceeded to Longwood in company with Captain Blakeney, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, and Mr. Rainsford, Inspector of Police. Upon my arrival at Longwood I desired Captain Poppleton to accompany me to Count Las Cases' quarters, where I found his son alone, to whom I addressed myself, saying that I had a communication to make to his father, and requested to see him. He answered, 'My father is with the Emperor, and I cannot send for him;' upon which I desired Captain Poppleton to send my compliments to Count Las Cases, to say I wished to speak with him. Count Las Cases made his appearance almost immediately. I told him I had received the Governor's orders to arrest him and his son, in consequence of information of an unauthorized correspondence which had been given by his late servant James Scott. He replied, 'Very well, I will attend you,

but I must see the Emperor first.' I said I could not permit that, it being contrary to my orders, and that he must proceed with me immediately. He again said, 'But I must first see the Emperor: cannot I go into the other parts of the house?' I returned the same answer which I had before given. He replied, 'Very well, I attend you.' I informed him that his son should be left in the room with Captain Blakeney, Captain Poppleton, and Mr. Rainsford, in order that he might see all the papers packed up and sealed. Count Las Cases and myself then left the quarter. Soon after we had left the house he said (laughing), 'So I am arrested in consequence of Scott's information? I knew the Governor had sent him to me.'"

Count Las Cases was taken from Longwood to Hutt's Gate, and Sir Thomas Reade proceeded to report to the Governor what had taken place. In the mean time Mr. Rainsford packed up the papers in presence of Captains Blakeney and Poppleton and Count Las Cases' son, and sealed them with the seal of Sir Thomas Reade (which he had left for that purpose) and that of Count Las Cases. The papers were conveyed to the house at Hutt's Gate where Count Las Cases was, and deposited in a trunk, which was locked and sealed in the presence of Count Las Cases, and then delivered into the charge of the officer of the guard at Hutt's Gate.

It was late in the afternoon when the arrest took place; and as Sir Hudson Lowe did not think it advisable himself to see Las Cases that evening, he directed Major Gorrequer to wait upon him in his name, and offer him anything of which he might stand in need from the Governor's own house.

Major Gorrequer says,—

"When Count Las Cases entered the house occupied

by Brigade-Major Harrison at 'the Hutt's Gate,' where he was conducted immediately after his arrest, and where I was desired to await his arrival, I informed him that the Governor had desired me to mention to him that, if there was anything he required to make him comfortable there, on his intimating it it would be provided for him; and that the Governor would meantime take care to send from his own house that day dinner for himself and son, though he was afraid, from the distance, it would not be so comfortable as he would wish. He replied, 'Je suis très reconnaissant de l'extrême bonté du Gouverneur, et je vous prie de le remercier de ma part;' adding that his wants were very few, and would therefore require very little. He then asked how long he was to remain in that house. I answered I believed only until the following day, or that [until?] a house more suitable and comfortable than what he was then in could be found. He said he begged the Governor would give himself no trouble on that head, as he was perfectly well where he was; that, if the Governor spoke from any interest he took in his being more comfortably situated, 'assurez le que je suis infiniment mieux ici que dans la cahute où il m'a laissé pendant neuf mois, et que je gagne beaucoup au change.' I replied, that house had been fixed upon for his temporary reception from its proximity to Longwood, and the impossibility of procuring a better lodging for him at the moment. He again repeated his request that I would thank the Governor for his extreme courtesy, his great goodness; 'mais si c'est vraiment par égard, je le puis bien assurer que je suis infiniment mieux logé dans ce moment que je ne l'ai été pendant les neuf derniers mois.' Count Las Cases then said he begged I would inform the Governor that he held the authorities

responsible before the law for the proceeding towards him;—that he had been seized by force;—that Sir T. Reade, with several other officers and two orderlies, had come to arrest him without telling him the reason, or giving him even a moment to seal up his papers. I answered, his papers would be all carefully put up in a box and sealed, and would be taken care of, and I believed they would be brought to Hutt's Gate immediately."

Some further conversation then took place, chiefly with reference to Las Cases' papers, about which he evinced considerable anxiety; and when Major Gorrequer took leave, the Count said,—"Pardon me, Sir, if I have said anything which I ought not; but excuse must be made for the first impulses one feels in such circumstances."[1]

Such are the simple facts relating to an affair which created much noise at the time, and, like almost everything else, was used for the purpose of traducing the character of Sir Hudson Lowe.

Count Las Cases' own account of the transaction in all the material parts shall now be given, from which it will be seen that, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken to prevent persons from having access to Longwood without the Governor's permission, means were found of attaining that object. It will be seen also that he ventured to insinuate, without a shadow of proof, that the servant was sent to him by Sir Hudson Lowe for the purpose of entrapping him into the offence, so as to afford a pretext for removing him from Longwood:[2]—

"From 21st to 24th.—I had remained with the

[1] "Pardon, Monsieur, si j'ai dit quelque chose que je n'aurais pas dû; mais il faut excuser les premiers mouvemens qu'on ressent dans de pareilles circonstances."

[2] Journal, Nov. 21-24, 1816. See also 'Récits,' vol. i. pp. 399, 438, *et seq.*

Emperor the preceding day, as late as one or two o'clock in the morning; on returning to my own apartment I found that I had had a visit paid to me during my absence by a person who had become tired of waiting for me. That *visit*, which my son had received, and which prudence obliged me to insert in my Journal at the time under the veil of mystery, may and shall now be fully explained. That visit was neither more nor less than the clandestine reappearance of the servant whom Sir Hudson Lowe had taken from me, and who, favoured by the darkness of the night and his knowledge of the localities, had surmounted every obstacle, avoided sentinels, and scaled precipices, to come and see me, in order to tell me that, having got a situation with a person who was going to set off for London in a very few days, he came to offer to execute my commissions in all things. He had waited for me in my own apartment for a considerable time, and, seeing that I did not return from the Emperor's, he had gone away, fearing lest he should be caught; but he promised to return, either under pretence of visiting his sister, who was employed in our household, or by the same means he had just resorted to. The next day I immediately communicated my good fortune to the Emperor, who appeared to be much pleased at the intelligence, and to attach some value to the circumstance."

Napoleon, according to Las Cases, at first approved of the plan of sending a communication to Europe by this opportunity, but afterwards treated the matter with so much indifference, that Las Cases, supposing that he did not wish to interfere, determined to proceed without mentioning the subject to him again. It will be seen, however, from an extract from O'Meara's letter to Mr. Finlaison, given in the next volume, that

Bonaparte declared he knew nothing whatever about the project, or he would have immediately stopped it. Which statement are we to believe?

Las Cases thus goes on with his narrative:—

"Some months had now elapsed since I had succeeded in forwarding the celebrated letter, in answer to Sir Hudson Lowe, concerning the Commissioners from the Allied Powers, and which was the only document that had been sent to Europe up to that period. The person who had kindly taken charge of it had brought me a large piece of satin on which the letter had been written: some was still left; and that was precisely what I wanted. Thus everything combined to urge me towards the precipice down which I was about to fall. As soon as daylight appeared I gave the remainder of the satin to my son, on whose discretion I could rely; and he spent the whole of the day in tracing upon it my letter to Prince Lucien. Night came, and, faithful to his word, my young mulatto appeared. He had some knowledge of the business of a tailor; he sewed with his own hands the satin into his clothes, and took his leave of me. I promised to give him some other things if he came to see me again before his departure, and wished him a pleasant voyage in case I should not see him again: afterwards I went to bed with a light heart, and a feeling of satisfaction arising from the contemplation of a day well employed, and happily employed. I was far from thinking at that moment that I had just cut with my own hands the thread of my destiny at Longwood! Alas! it will soon be seen that twenty-four hours had not elapsed when, under pretence of my having written that letter, I was removed from Longwood, and my person and papers were in the power, and at the entire disposal, of the Governor.

And if I should now be asked how I could be so little on my guard, and not suspect that possibly a snare might be laid for me, I should say that my servant had appeared to me honest, that I believed him to be faithful, and that I was still a stranger to all idea of instigating spies, a new invention, the honour of which the English ministers of that period may claim as their own, and which has since thriven so well on the Continent!"

Count Las Cases afterwards relates the circumstances attending his arrest. He was talking to Napoleon in the billiard-room, when, he says, "a message was brought to me informing me that the English Colonel, the creature of Sir Hudson Lowe, was waiting for me in my own apartment. I made a sign that I was with the Emperor, who, a few minutes after, said to me, 'Go and see, mon cher, what that animal wants of you.' And, as I was going, he added, '*and, above all, come back soon.*' These were for me the last words of Napoleon. Alas! I have never seen him since; but his accent, the tone of his voice, still sound in my ears. . . . . The Colonel who wished to see me was a man entirely devoted to the Governor's wishes, his factotum, and with whom I had frequently to communicate as interpreter. I had no sooner entered the room than, with an expression of benevolence and kindness both in his voice and countenance, he inquired after my health with a tender interest. This was the kiss of Judas; for, having made a sign to him with my hand to sit down on the sofa, and having also taken a seat on it myself, he seized this opportunity to place himself between me and the door; and, altering at once his look and expression, he informed me that he arrested me in the name of the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, on the

denunciation of my servant, for having carried on a secret correspondence. My room was already guarded by dragoons, all representations on my part became useless, I was obliged to yield to violence, and was carried away under a numerous escort. The Emperor has since written, as it will be seen hereafter, that, on seeing me from his window hurried along through the plain, surrounded by armed men, the alacrity of the numerous staff prancing about me, and the quick undulation of their high feathers, had put him in mind of the ferocious joy of the savage inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean dancing round the prisoner whom they are about to devour. I had been separated from my son, who had been detained prisoner in my apartment; but he soon joined me, also under escort; so that the sudden interruption and final termination of our communications with Longwood date from that moment. We were both shut up in a wretched hovel[1] near the former habitation of the Bertrand family: I was obliged to sleep on a miserable pallet, my poor son by my side, lest he should have to lie on the floor. I considered his life to be at this moment in danger; he was threatened with an aneurism, and had been on the point of expiring in my arms a few days before. We were kept until eleven o'clock without food; and when, in order to supply the wants of my son, I asked a piece of bread from the men who surrounded us, and went to the door and to each of the windows, they answered me immediately by so many bayonets."[2]

[1] "Misérable cahute." This "wretched hovel" was the residence of a Brigade-Major in the army. See pp. 371–2, *ante*.

[2] The utter falsehood of this statement will be seen by contrasting it with the report of Major Gorrequer given above at p. 372. It is repeated in the 'Recueil de Pièces Authentiques sur le Captif de Sainte Hélène,' chez Corréard, Paris, 1821, vol. xii. pp. 37, 38; where it is said that "the barbarous Governor threw Las Cases and his son into a miserable cottage—a dark and infected place—a suddenly devised dungeon."

Let us now see O'Meara's version of what had happened. In his 'Voice from St. Helena'[1] he devotes only two or three lines to the cause of Las Cases' arrest. He there says, "It appeared that the Count had given a letter written upon silk to Scott, his servant, with which he was to proceed to England. Scott told this to his father, who had him brought to a Mr. Barker, and from thence to the Governor, by whom he was committed to prison, after undergoing an examination." But in a long letter to his friend and correspondent Mr. Finlaison, dated the 29th of December, 1816, which has not hitherto been published, he enters much more fully into detail, and gives the following account of the affair:—

"Some months past Sir Hudson considered with a very suspicious eye a mulatto servant of Las Cases'. This fellow, aged about twenty, had been pointed out by Mr. Doveton (one of the Members of Council) as being a most active character, well acquainted with the island and the coast, having been accustomed to fishing, and he was in several respects a very improper man to be a servant to any of the French people, and probably would assist them in their views: in consequence, Sir Hudson, about five weeks back, ordered a soldier to be sent in his place, and that he should be sent away. (I ought to mention that a short time before this he ordered that he should be sent away, but, the man who was to have replaced him being a bad character, and young Las Cases being ill, he was suffered to remain for some time longer.) Las Cases refused to receive the soldier sent in place of him, and he was sent away. The Sunday after his *congé* he came up to Longwood under pretence of being paid

[1] Vol. i. p. 222.

his wages. In the interim Las Cases had caused his son to write upon *a piece of white satin* some letters, which he gave to him, and caused him to sew one of them inside of his waistcoat between the lining, and the other he was to secrete in some other part of his dress, and was to return in a day or two for some more letters, with which he was to proceed to England by the first favourable opportunity. This fellow, as soon as he got home, showed one of the letters to his father, a man named Scott (whose slave he also is, being sprung from a black wench), and asked him if he ever saw such curious writing as that. It does not appear that he showed it to the father with an intention that it should be made known to the Governor; rather on the contrary. However, the father took him immediately to a farmer named Barker, who insisted upon taking him before Sir Hudson, where he was examined. The same day I met Sir Hudson near Plantation House, who told me that there was some examination of this servant taking place, and desired me when I went back to Longwood to say nothing whatsoever about it to any person."[1]

Sir Hudson Lowe's first care was to make Napoleon acquainted with these events. As soon as he had given orders for the arrest of Count Las Cases, and while he was on his way from Longwood to Hutt's Gate, he sent Major Gorrequer back to report the fact to Count Montholon for the information of Napoleon.

"Having found him in the garden," says Major Gorrequer, "I said to him, 'Monsieur le Comte, I come by desire of the Governor to beg of you to do

[1] In the 'Voice,' vol. i. p. 221, we have it thus:—"When I came near to his Excellency he observed, with an air of triumph, 'You will meet your friend Las Cases in custody.'"

me the favour of announcing to General Bonaparte that he has just given orders to arrest the Count Las Cases, in consequence of his having induced an inhabitant of St. Helena to swerve from his fidelity, to infringe the laws, and to violate the Act of Parliament proclaimed in this island, by inducing him to receive letters for Europe, concealed in the lining of his waistcoat. This man is James Scott, formerly servant to Count Las Cases. This fact was discovered last night or this morning, and he is just imprisoned. The Governor has felt himself compelled to resort to this measure with great regret, from respect to General Bonaparte, and he prays you to assure him of it, but it is too serious and important a dereliction from duty to leave any other course open to him.' Count Montholon replied, 'I cannot comprehend what you tell me. It has struck me like a thunderclap. I go this instant to communicate it to the Emperor. The circumstance will affect him sensibly.' I again requested he would not omit to state to General Bonaparte that the Governor felt regret, from regard to his feelings, to have been under the necessity of having recourse to the measure of arrest; but could not avoid it, the nature of Count Las Cases' proceeding leaving him no alternative."

In reality Bonaparte was an eye-witness of the removal of Las Cases. O'Meara, in his 'Voice,' tells us that he said that Sir Hudson Lowe, "while surrounding the house with his staff, reminded him of the savages of the South Sea Islands dancing round the prisoners whom they were going to devour;"[1] and we need not doubt that these expressions are faithfully

[1] Voice, vol. i. p. 229.

reported, for they also occur in his private letter to Mr. Finlaison, already quoted.[1]

We have seen that Las Cases, in his narrative of his arrest, affects to believe that the mulatto, Scott, was in reality a spy of the Governor, and employed by him to entrap the unwary Count into the snare laid for him. But the reader will perhaps be surprised to learn that, notwithstanding the total silence of O'Meara on this point in his *book*, and his affected sympathy with Las Cases, his own opinion was that that injured person had planned the whole scheme on purpose to be detected, in order that he might get away from St. Helena, being heartily tired of his residence in the island. To prove this we must again have recourse to his correspondence with Mr. Finlaison, where alone we are likely to find his real sentiments on the subject. He says, in his letter of the 29th of December,—

"We *all* know that there was nothing in any of the letters that would hang Las Cases, as since his examination of his papers he was offered by Sir Hudson his choice of *returning back to Longwood* until the decision of the British Government respecting him should be known, or to go to the Cape, there to await it, which latter, after a great deal of shuffling, he embraced—which, when connected with other circumstances, leads me to imagine that he formed the plan of the letters and gave them to the slave *purposely to be discovered*, in order that he might be sent off the island, not being able, after all his professions of eternal and unalterable fidelity *à l'Empereur*—to whom he declared so often

[1] The words there given are, "Il me parut voir les Anthropophages des îles de la Mer de Midi, qui dansent autour de les victimes avant de les dévorer."

his life was devoted, who he said was *his God*—with any decency to ask permission to go away; whereas by doing something which would cause his being ordered off the island he would have the opportunity of availing himself of the pretext 'that he was *forced* to leave him.'"

It has been mentioned that the letter to Lucien Bonaparte found upon Scott was incomplete. The rest of it had been hidden by him under a stone on the day he was arrested, but he afterwards gave information of this, and it was recovered. What purports to be a copy of it has already been published;[1] but the printed version differs widely from the original, and in many parts bears no resemblance whatever to it; and as there may be some curiosity to read the genuine contents of the letter, it is given at length at the end of the volume.[2]

In a private letter to Earl Bathurst, dated December 3, 1816,[3] Sir Hudson Lowe gave the following account of all these proceedings; and his remarks on the mode in which Count Las Cases had made up his Journal well deserve attention:—

"Information was given to me a few days since by the father of a young man who had been the servant of Count Las Cases, and whom I had, on causes of suspicion, removed from his attendance, that Count Las Cases had delivered to him a recommendation and two letters for England. The father at the same time produced to me the recommendation, which was simply a character of the servant, with an address bearing the name of Lady Clavering. The letters were written in

[1] Recueil, tom. ii. p. 33.

[2] See No. 46 amongst the Letters and Documents.

[3] The Governor told Lord Bathurst he had marked his letter *private* because he wished him to suspend his judgment until the whole of the documents were transmitted to England.

an extraordinary minute character on *silk taffetà*, and had been sewn up by Count Las Cases in the lining of a waistcoat, which he desired his servant to leave behind when he was discharged, and call for again. The servant was desired not to open the lining until he should arrive in England. One of the letters was to Lady Clavering;[1] the other to Lucien Bonaparte at Rome, destined, as it appears, to be forwarded by her. Only the first part of the letter to Lucien was discovered the first day: it was not until three days afterwards the servant discovered where the second part lay concealed. On the same day the information was given and proof produced of the fact I caused Count Las Cases with his son to be arrested, and all their papers secured. The papers were put up without examination in the presence of Count Las Cases' son, sealed with his father's seal and that of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Reade, by whom the arrest had been conducted, and removed to the place where Count Las Cases himself had been confined. I have since run over the whole of the papers in Count Las Cases' presence, and with his own acquiescence. There was a trunk and portfolio full of them—the rough and fair copies of Bonaparte's campaigns in Italy, dictated by himself, with the notes and documents regarding them; his official correspondence with Sir George Cockburn and me. The first of these collections I made it a law to myself not to look into, except so far as to satisfy myself they were really the papers specified. They have been returned to General Bonaparte with Count Las Cases' seal affixed to them: the same has been done with the official correspondence. The collection of most importance remains, claimed equally by General Bonaparte and by Count Las Cases. It

[1] See No. 48 amongst the Letters and Documents.

is a Journal[1] of a very voluminous nature, which was kept by Count Las Cases, of everything that had occurred to General Bonaparte from the time he quitted Paris to the day on which the arrest had taken place. His acts, his conversations, his remarks, copies of all his remonstrances, including Count Montholon's letters—even his gestures are noted;—the whole kept with the minuteness of Boswell's Life of Johnson, with the force of General Bonaparte's own language and the embellishment of Count Las Cases': even this collection I obtained Count Las Cases' own consent to look over. Everything is sacrificed in it to the great object of presenting to posterity, in the person of General Bonaparte, a model of excellence and virtue. Facts are altered, conversations only given by half, his own expressions repeated, the replies omitted; such I have observed to be particularly the case in conversations I have myself had with him, even where witnesses have been present. General Bonaparte has asked that this document should be returned to him, saying it is a Journal which was kept by his express orders, and is the only memorandum he has had of what has been occurring to him. Count Las Cases, on the contrary, claims the paper as entirely his own; calls it 'ses pensées;' will not allow that General Bonaparte has any knowledge of it. There may be some truth on both sides; General Bonaparte may have directed Count Las Cases to take occasional notes of what passed, and may have been happy at the same time to have had a biographer so partial and so

[1] Afterwards published under the title of 'Mémorial de Sainte Hélène, ou Journal où se trouve consigné jour par jour ce qu'a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois. Par le Comte de las Cases.' The title of another edition was 'Mémorial de Sainte Hélène—Journal de la Vie privée et des Conversations de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte Hélène.' An English translation was printed in 1823.

eloquent, who would save him the vanity of reading [recording?] his own praises. They are as yet each ignorant of the other's claims. The wisest course I apprehend to pursue will be to keep the Journal sealed up with Count Las Cases' seal and my own, until your Lordship's instructions can be received regarding it."

Sir Hudson Lowe has in this extract concisely stated the general nature of the papers found in possession of Las Cases. In an official letter to Lord Bathurst, dated December 13, 1816, he goes more fully into detail, and mentions that, besides the documents alluded to above, there was the rough draft of a second letter to Lucien Bonaparte, which Las Cases told Sir Hudson Lowe he had intended to give to Scott to take to England. Of this draft Sir Hudson took a copy, but at the same time told Las Cases that he should consider it as a paper "*non exécuté.*"[1]

The only other papers of interest, according to the Governor's statement, were "a loose bundle, marked '*Projets, doubles copies,*' in which was contained the rough draft of the letter to Lucien Bonaparte; some heads of reflections on General Bonaparte's situation in this island, intended apparently to be introduced into a protest against the Act of Parliament; and a collection of various scraps of General Bonaparte's writing—rough sketches of works in his hand, and several scratchings of his pen, to which it was difficult to attach any particular plan or design. Amongst the great mass of papers which was looked over, there were only two of them found sealed—one a packet marked on the outside 'Lettres de ma mère,' and another without superscription, which Count Las Cases said was his will.

[1] This letter will be found at the end of the volume. (No. 47.)

The outer envelopes being broken more for form's sake than from doubt, and the external appearance indicating them to be what they were described, they were sealed up again by Count Las Cases' son, without their contents being looked into. During the whole time the papers were examining, Count Las Cases and his son were in the room, and assisting in their assortment and in the explanations regarding them; and the whole was done with their acquiescence."

On the 28th of November Las Cases and his son were removed to a cottage belonging to Mr. Balcombe, and known by the name of Ross Cottage, where they had the same accommodation in every respect as when they were at Longwood, and were allowed to walk about the grounds within the enclosure, and in sight of the officer of the guard, but were not permitted to communicate with any persons except those who were authorised by the Governor.[1] Both of them were at this time in a weak state of health; but when Las Cases speaks of his son as having been "on the point of expiring in his arms a few days before,"[2] it is an obvious exaggeration, for we have seen that he had been at that very time busily employed in preparing the secret communications destined to be conveyed by Scott.

---

[1] Las Cases' apartments of course became vacant, and the following note written about this time by Captain Poppleton, the orderly officer at Longwood, to Major Gorrequer, shows his opinion of Count Montholon:—

Dear Gorrequer, "November 30, 1816.

"I enclose you a list of furniture in Las Cases' room; everything *in statu quo*. General Montholon (that never-to-be-satisfied man), seeing me come out of the room, said he would be glad to get these rooms for his children. I told him I meant to apply for them myself, having but one room, which he knew well. He then said he only wanted them for a few days, whilst his rooms were painting. I really believe if he had the whole premises he 'd ask for part of Plantation House. Give the enclosed note to the Governor. Yours, &c. "T. POPPLETON."

[2] See p. 377, *ante*.

Count Bertrand called at Plantation House the day after the arrest, and had an interview with the Governor. Major Gorrequer was present, and he afterwards made a minute of the conversation which took place. It was not, however, important. Bertrand expressed great surprise at what he called the ridiculous folly of Las Cases, but dwelt upon his mildness of character and goodness of temper, attributing his act of "*folie*" to his not being well. He said he was a very inoffensive man, much valued by the Emperor for his literary qualifications, and was indeed by far the most useful person to him at St. Helena. Major Gorrequer says, he "censured the absurdity of thus committing himself, and said the circumstance of the letters being thus sent was unknown to them at Longwood; that probably it was some insignificant matter to Lady Clavering, which he might have sent in the usual way; and that he hoped the Governor would send him back to them. I remarked that besides Lady Clavering's there were other letters. Count Bertrand seemed surprised at this. He soon after took his leave."[1]

Sir Hudson Lowe had many interviews with Las Cases while the latter remained in custody, until he sailed from the island, and at these Major Gorrequer was present, whose reports furnish long and copious details of all that passed. It would, however, be uninteresting and tedious to give them at any length. They related chiefly to the possession and disposal of the papers which had been seized. Count Las Cases frequently protested against any examination of those which he considered private, and represented his

[1] At this interview Count Bertrand pointed out how useful Count Las Cases was to his master, but said nothing about the cruelty of removing him; and he neither protested against his arrest, nor demanded his restoration, though Count Montholon says he was specially charged by Napoleon on the preceding evening, to do both. See 'Récits,' vol. i. p. 443.

Journal to be of that nature, containing only his own thoughts, which he had never any intention of publishing. To this, Major Gorrequer says, the Governor replied,—

"That he could not consider the Journal as merely containing his thoughts and opinions; that he had found very serious things in it, even in the hurried way he had looked through it the preceding day—for instance, his own conversations 'dénaturées,' and copies of official papers; that he might call this a journal, but the conversations of others and relation of official circumstances could not come under the denomination of *his thoughts;* that these papers, though he might not intend them to see the light during his life, yet might be left as a legacy to his family and become public, and thus present to the world a relation 'dénaturée' of everything that had occurred; that he himself (the Governor) had given a much more faithful account of the conversations, because he had thought it his duty to repeat what was said on both sides. . . . . That he had given a proof of his delicacy in not even looking into the papers that belonged to the work which General Bonaparte was preparing, and, notwithstanding the curiosity which he had in common with every one to see the relation of those interesting events, yet he would never allow his curiosity to get the better of his delicacy on that point; that, although he did not aspire to celebrity, he did, however, to the character of an honest man, and would be ashamed, in the relation of any circumstance that had occurred, to give only one side of the question; that, in relating his proceedings on the subject of the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, every odium was thrown on him for the reduction of them, whilst the resolution he had taken on his own responsibility to increase the sum fixed upon by Government

one-half, in order to render their situation less irksome and to meet their exigencies, passed wholly unacknowledged; that, having seen in the Journal what he had, it was necessary he should see more before he could form a correct judgment of the nature of its contents. . . . . The Governor remarked that had always been the way in which things were misrepresented—adverting to a part of the letter to Lucien Bonaparte, where complaint was made of the reduction of the expense—whilst no acknowledgment was made for the sum he had added on his own responsibility, though he had reason to suppose the Parliament had fixed the amount of the expenses to be incurred for General Bonaparte's establishment. Count Las Cases replied that it only required an explanation to effect 'un rapprochement,' that it might easily be brought about; if any of his letters had contributed to cause any irritation he was very ready to acknowledge himself in the wrong, 'et de se sacrifier pour un raccommodement.' He then said to the Governor that he hoped he considered the letter to 'Prince Lucien' as containing what ought to be kept secret by him. The Governor answered he would, as he told him at the last interview, respect anything which did not require to be made known to Ministers."

Sir Hudson Lowe delivered to Count Bertrand for Napoleon the two parcels, one of which was endorsed "*Pièces officielles*," and the other "*Campagnes d'Italie*;" and, calling his attention to the fact that they were both sealed with Las Cases' own seal, said, "I beg of you, M. le Comte, to make known in the most formal manner possible that I have not read a single word of their contents."

"On the 1st of December," says Major Gorrequer, "the Governor, accompanied by him and Sir Thomas

Reade, went to Ross Cottage, and inquired after the health of Count Las Cases and of his son, and if the medical officer he had sent to him the day before had been with them, and begged to know whether they were in need of anything for their accommodation; adding, he hoped they were now more comfortable than they had been; and having been satisfactorily answered on all these points by Count Las Cases, who said they were perfectly well and desired nothing, the Governor informed Count Las Cases he had delivered over to Count Bertrand the papers containing the 'Campaigns of Italy,' and the 'Pièces Officielles,' in the same state he had received them."

At the interview Las Cases asked whether he might have permission to write an official letter to the Governor respecting the situation in which he was placed, and said that he proposed to do so that evening or the following day. To this Sir Hudson Lowe replied, "Yes, certainly." It appears, however, that in reality the letter was then already in existence, for it bears date "Balcombe Cottage, 30*th November*, 1816," although it was not until the following day that Las Cases asked to be allowed to write it. It is already in print,[1] and need not be introduced here; but one remarkable variation between the copy, as published in Las Cases' Journal, and that which has been found amongst Sir Hudson Lowe's papers, deserves to be noticed. In the latter it commences thus: "In consequence of a snare, *according to all appearances*, laid by my servant, I was on the 25th instant removed from Longwood, and all my papers were seized;"[2] but in the former the words "*according to all appear-*

[1] Journal, Dec. 1, 1816; Recueil, vol. i. p. 375.

[2] "Par suite d'un piége, selon toutes les apparences, tendu par mon valet, j'ai été enlevé de Longwood le 25 du courant, et tous mes papiers saisis."

ances (*selon toutes les apparences*)" are omitted. And that this was done with a deliberate purpose of falsehood is capable of proof. For after Sir Hudson Lowe had received the letter, he called on Las Cases on the 4th of December, and strongly remonstrated with him upon the impropriety of making such a charge as the first paragraph implied. Major Gorrequer was present, and in his minute of the conversation he says, that "the Governor observed, that to accuse the servant was making him (the Governor) a party in it, as the servant could not have run the risk of carrying into effect such a design without his (the Governor's) knowledge; he was not versed in the practice of the continental police, but conceived that 'en tendant un piége à quelqu'un,' the agent who was employed in executing it always did it with the privity of his superior; that the English laws would not tolerate such a proceeding—it was against both the spirit and morality of English customs; that, could he have been guilty of such a proceeding as that of employing a servant to entrap his own master and in such a manner, he must have considered himself a dishonest man (*malhonnête homme*)." He then explained the manner in which the discovery had been made; "when," says Major Gorrequer, "Las Cases answered that he certainly had considered it as a snare laid for him, that it had all the appearance of it, but he had been very careful in the wording of that paragraph of the letter, and had made use of the words '*selon toutes les apparences*;' that it only implicated the servant, and would not be considered as alluding to the Governor's being privy to such a design; but now that the Governor assured him it was not a plot, he believed it, and was happy to be undeceived."

In another part of the letter the words occurred "le

piége qu'on m'a tendu." And Sir Hudson pointed out that in this sentence the writer spoke of the snare as having been actually laid. Las Cases answered, "that he thought the expression could only be read as having reference to the first paragraph (qualified by the words 'selon toutes les apparences'); he had used it in that sense; and the Governor had seen with how much facility and good faith he admitted the error of his inference the moment he had told him that no snare was laid for him."

And yet, after all, Las Cases, when publishing his letter to the world, suppressed the qualifying words, which alone could prevent a misconception of the meaning which he professed to the Governor it was his intention to convey! Such conduct requires no comment.

At the same interview the Governor said that he considered one of the most objectionable parts of the Journal was the insertion of the letter from Count Montholon, wherein a number of gross misstatements were made in regard to him (although this was but a trifle when compared with the more serious matter it contained), and in which he was accused of retaining letters. He showed Las Cases a copy of a letter he had sent to General Montholon, which had never been answered, requesting some explanation on certain parts of the one written by the General, which referred to the detention of some letters received through him, and of others returned to Europe after arriving at St. Helena. Las Cases read it and said that, with regard to one of his letters stated to have been detained thirty-five days after its arrival here before he received it, that was true; and he had also been informed that another letter was received to his address which had never been transmitted to him.

The Governor replied, that he felt he was exposed by his situation to misstatements; that he could have easily repelled all these attacks by immediately producing proof to the contrary, but did not think they merited it; that, however, in the instance of the letter addressed to Las Cases which had been so long detained, he would refer him to Major Gorrequer, who knew how it occurred; that the letter had been left at the Governor's office, and put into a box with other papers without his being aware of it; and that it was afterwards observed accidentally by Major Gorrequer and sent to Sir Hudson Lowe. This statement the Major confirmed. Las Cases remarked how easily many misconceptions might be removed by a personal explanation, and a reconciliation effected; how happy he would be to have a "rapprochement," were he even to be the sacrifice—the scapegoat (le bouc d'émission); and he said he would most willingly submit to be considered as having done wrong. The Governor said it was not a reconciliation he desired, but truth.[1]

[1] The above account of the conversation is abridged from Major Gorrequer's minutes, which extend to a considerable length. See No. 49 amongst the Letters and Documents at the end of the volume.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS,

IN THE NATURE OF

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS,

IN THE NATURE OF

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

No. 1.

To Lieut.-General Sir J. Stuart.

Sir, Capri, 6th October, 1808.

Your Excellency will have been informed, by the letters I despatched on the 4th instant, of the enemy having on that day commenced an attack on this island. It becomes a painful duty on me to relate the first unfortunate results of it. I had received some vague information of the enemy's designs on the preceding day, and had doubled my guards and picquets in consequence of it. The arrangements for defence in other respects were as follows: The Royal Corsican Rangers occupied the town and heights of Capri. The Royal Regiment of Malta, under the command of Major Hamill, the position of Ana Capri. Three companies of this corps were destined to co-operate with the same number from the Royal Corsican Rangers, for the defence of the sea-line lying between the two positions, should the enemy make that his principal point of debarkation. The point of retreat for the companies of Royal Malta was Ana Capri.

At daylight in the morning of the 4th we clearly perceived the enemy's force standing directly to us from Naples; it consisted of a 44-gun frigate, a corvette carrying 22 guns, thirty gun-boats, and about forty other small vessels of different descriptions; the whole with troops on board. This division made towards the Marina and Palazzo di Mare, the principal landing-places along the sea-line before mentioned, but, as they approached the island, manœuvred and stood off for some

time. In this interval a second division, consisting of seven gun-boats and about thirty small vessels, with troops also on board, was observed coming from Salerno, and menaced the landing-place of Grotto and Tragara, at the back of Capri.

Major Hamill, judging from these appearances that the first efforts of the enemy would be against Capri, with an anxious concern to grant prompt succour, detached first two companies for the support of the sea-line, and afterwards two more companies in reserve to the town, writing to acquaint me he had posted five companies between the points of Limbo and Damacuta at Ana Capri, where he considered himself as secure. It was not long however before the enemy was observed to change the direction of his first and principal division, which steered towards the station of Damacuta, leaving only a few vessels opposite Palazzo di Mare. The division from Salerno continued in its first course. Observing thus the enemy's intention fixed on his places of debarkation, I remanded back the companies of the Royal Malta to Ana Capri; and as his design to make that part of the island his principal point of attack became more obvious, detached to Major Hamill's support three companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers, under the direction of Captain Church, who, having commanded in that station before the arrival of the regiment of Malta, possessed all that local knowledge which could render his services useful on such an occasion.

I was for a long time ignorant of the enemy's real movements in that quarter, until I received a note from Mr. Banks, surgeon of the Royal Malta, dated 2 o'clock P.M., informing me, by Major Hamill's desire, that he thought the enemy inclined to attack him at Damacuta, and requesting, if I thought proper, that I would send him what reinforcement I could spare. Having previously detached the companies before mentioned, this object was thus already fulfilled.

About an hour afterwards I received a note from the Adjutant, dated 3 o'clock, acquainting me, by Major Hamill's desire, that the enemy had landed a division of about 350 men at the left of Damacuta, and the rest was standing in. I augured the most unfavourable consequences from this report, as the principal defence of Ana Capri consisted in the facility of defending the points of disembarkation, which however,

being once forced, opened a wide field for an enemy's formation and subsequent movements.

At this moment the enemy was vigorously pushing his attempts of debarkation at the points Tragara and Grotto, the result of which remained at this time in suspense. Some gun-boats and small vessels still menaced debarkation at Palazzo di Mare. I felt on this occasion there was no other alternative than to march up with all the force I could collect in Capri to the support of the troops at Ana Capri, and leave the defence of the positions at Capri to chance alone, or to endeavour to secure that which was already in my possession. The force however that I could have marched up was so small, and the result of their assistance so doubtful against an enemy who had so successfully overcome the principal difficulty of his attack, and who had by that time probably landed the whole of his force, that I decided on the latter, and felt the more confirmed in the propriety of this decision, as any other operation would have menaced the loss of the whole island. I immediately despatched an order to Major Hamill, desiring him, if he felt himself pressed by the enemy, and doubtful of the result, to save his regiment by retiring within the town-line of Capri, sending a detachment to occupy the Fort at Monte Solaro. This order was despatched three several times, and received the first time, but I have reason to believe the last never reached him; for I have since understood that it was received by an officer of the regiment who fell in the hands of the enemy.

Before 6 o'clock in the evening the attempt made by the enemy to effect a debarkation at Tragara and Grotto had completely failed; the companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers who were charged with the defence of that part of the island, under the direction of Major Schummelketel, having completely succeeded in repelling him by heavy discharge of musketry into his boats, though exposed the whole of the time to the fire of the gun-boats as well as to the enemy's musketry. I was still uncertain respecting affairs at Ana Capri; but finding this part of the island now secured, I collected three companies to move to their assistance in the other quarter, more, however, with the hope of establishing some order in the retreat than with the expectation of making a successful resistance against an enemy of superior numbers, flushed with success at the

advantages already gained. I had scarcely arrived at the foot of the mountain of Ana Capri before I met several small detachments of the Royal Malta in retreat. A serjeant detached to me from Captain Church informed me that the companies under his charge had taken the direction to Monte Solaro, and that the enemy was in possession of Capo di Monte (the only passage of communication between Capri and Ana Capri); I immediately sought a peasant who was acquainted with a track up the precipices of the mountain, and despatched him with a letter to Major Hamill at Monte Solaro, to be delivered in his absence to Captain Church, directing him to use every means for joining me in Capri with the whole of his force, leaving only a sufficient number of men to occupy the fort at Monte Solaro: the peasant was to serve him as a guide. I had soon the satisfaction to find that my wishes in this respect had been fulfilled by Captain Church, who effected his passage down the precipices with his detachment. From him I learned that, except about 150 men at Monte Solaro, and about 120 who had retired down the steps of Capo di Monte, the remainder of the regiment of Malta were made prisoners. Major Hamill's fate still remained unknown to me.

As no officer of the regiment Royal Malta returned to Capri, I could obtain no relation of the particular occurrences that befel that corps, and therefore had recourse for information on the subject to Captain Church, whose report to me is annexed.

The occurrences of such a day may appear to afford little occasion for the acknowledgment of particular services; but it would be highly unjust on my part not to notice the manner in which I was supported by the officers and men in general under my immediate command, when I feel that I want words to express a due acknowledgment of it.

My warmest thanks are due to Major Schummelketel, as well as to Captain Guitiera, Lieut. Zerbi, Ensigns Agostini and Bibra, for the spirit and judgment with which they fulfilled their duty in repelling the enemy's attack at the Points of Grotto and Tragara, where the force opposed to them was so highly superior. I cannot more strongly appreciate the services of Major Schummelketel and his detachment than by saying that the safety of this island depended on his and their exertions in the defence of this post. Captain Church's ex-

ertions were peculiarly conspicuous, and he was handsomely supported by Captains Nicholson and Susini. The orderly retreat of this detachment through parties of the enemy without any loss of men except the killed and wounded, but through absolute exhaustion, down precipices heretofore deemed impracticable, forms the highest eulogium on the officers who guided it. They had been twenty hours under arms, and in constant movement. The small detachment of British Artillery performed its duty in its usual gallant manner. Lieutenant Brocheciampe, who had charge of the additional gunners of the Royal Corsican Rangers, and to whom the artillery defence of the island I had principally entrusted, gave proofs, with the whole of his detachment, of the most undaunted firmness, having been repeatedly attacked by an unceasing fire from the whole of the enemy's gun-vessels, and having as constantly repelled them. A wound received in his duty has deprived me of his present services.

It has been extremely difficult for me to form any exact calculation of the state of the enemy's force. The officers who were at Ana Capri state, in general, that the division which first landed at Damacuta must have consisted of about 2000 men. The division which menaced Palazzo di Mare (and our communication, had he landed there, with the other part of the island) I conceive must have afterwards proceeded thither also. The division which attacked Grotto and Tragara was about 800 men: this also I believe proceeded to Damacuta. His present force would therefore be at least 3000 men; however, I can only speak from conjecture. Whatever it may be, we at present hold a strong position in the town, and all the heights on this part of the island, and the determination in general to preserve it.

Enclosed is a Return of the killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, of which almost the entire loss sustained was in the action after the enemy's landing at Damacuta.

I have had no means to judge what loss the enemy sustained on this occasion, but understand he suffered considerably.

I have, &c.

HUDSON LOWE, Lt.-Col. Comm.

No. 2.

To Lieut.-Colonel Lowe.

Sir, Capri, 5th October, 1808.

In pursuance to your directions, I proceeded, on the morning of the 4th ult., with a detachment of three companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers, to Ana Capri, when I placed myself under the orders of Major Hamill, commanding there.

On my arrival on the heights of Dama Couta, I found the enemy had already effected their debarkation under the cover of a frigate, a sloop of war, a mortar-vessel, and about 24 gun-boats, besides various armed boats.

The position occupied by the Royal Regiment of Malta formed a crescent along the heights, extending from those over Orico (where the enemy had landed) to the lime-kiln near the road leading to the town of Ana Capri; farther on the left, and considerably advanced towards the enemy, two companies of the Royal Corsican Rangers occupied the little height called Orio; between these companies (which were commanded by Captains Nicholson and Susini) and the Royal Regiment of Malta there appeared a considerable interval.

The right of the line was occupied by my own company, having to protect the landing-place of Grahala, which was in our rear; a company of the regimem of Malta, and a field-piece;—this company and gun I had occasion to bring to reinforce the line during the action.

I had joined the Royal Regiment of Malta at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, a little after the enemy had landed, who were endeavouring to advance whilst their ships of war and gun-boats kept up a constant fire upon the heights. We had, nevertheless, the satisfaction to repulse the enemy in four successive attempts which he made to turn our right and left, and in which they sustained a considerable loss.

At sunset the enemy had completely retired, and covered himself amongst the rocks at the place of debarkation.

The action had now ceased, except with at intervals some loose firing between their sharpshooters and ours; and I occa-

sionally annoyed them by some discharges of grape from a long four-pounder, but which was unfortunately in want of ammunition.

During the action a division of the enemy of about 700 or 800 men, who had been repulsed in an attempt to land at Capri, disembarked at Orio.

From the various repulses the enemy met with, I had reason to conceive his intention was to reimbark; but at about 8 o'clock (just as the moon rose) I perceived the enemy in motion, and his skirmishers recommenced the action.

I now plainly perceived him formed in three considerable columns, covering the flank of his left column with his light troops, and advancing across the plain of Orico, obliquely to his right, directing his march to the town. In conjunction with some companies of the Regiment of Malta, who were on my left, I kept up a brisk fire upon the enemy's flank, but could not follow him, as a reserve of the enemy threatened my right.

In a short time it was evident that the enemy had penetrated our line, and his drums in the town soon convinced me of it. The companies of the Regiment of Malta had retired, and I found it necessary to provide for the safety of my detachment.

From the local knowledge, the conduct, and abilities of Captains Nicholson and Susini, I was convinced that the companies commanded by them would effect their retreat, notwithstanding their being surrounded by the enemy in almost every direction.

Finding all hopes, and even utility, of defending any longer the post I occupied entirely dissipated, I threw the gun I had with me into the sea, and commenced my retreat by the left, marching through the vineyards and narrow roads leading from Dama Couta to the Capo di Monte, the only retreat I had left, all others being occupied by the enemy.

I had retreated about a quarter of a mile, when to my infinite surprise I fell in with a strong division of the enemy, by whom I was instantly challenged. There was no other alternative; I answered the challenge in French, and said we were French troops pushing on to the town. By this means I extricated myself from the enemy and passed them, until some soldiers of the Regiment of Malta (who retreated with me) having discovered by their red uniforms that we were enemies, the enemy

instantly opened a fire upon me, and followed me for near a mile: local knowledge of the country at length enabled me to avoid them, after having lost several men.

Having arrived at Capo di Monte a few minutes before the enemy, I found to my great satisfaction Captain Nicholson's company had arrived there. I now determined to secure the redoubt at Monte Solaro, and act afterwards as circumstances should direct; and on my march up the mountain I had the pleasure to fall in with Captain Susini's company, who had also escaped from the enemy.

After my arrival at the redoubt of Monte Solaro, and finding that a sufficient number of men of the Regiment of Malta had arrived to occupy it, I conceived it my duty still to endeavour to effect my retreat to Capri. At this moment a letter from Lieut.-Colonel Com. Lowe, addressed to Major Hamill, or in his absence to me, decided my resolution.

As I knew that it was possible for a man to go down the face of the rock which divides Ana Capri from Capri, I resolved to attempt leading my detachment down it, in which, I am happy to say, I succeeded, with the loss of only one man killed by falling from the rocks into the valley underneath.

As it is not in my power to state the number of the enemy, I shall only observe that it was infinitely superior to ours, and that, when they had once landed, our line became so extensive [extended?] as to render it almost impossible to occupy it. I am well convinced the enemy's loss has been severe, from the opportunity I had of observing it; and in each attack, the officers carrying the enemy's advanced standard were killed by sharpshooters of my detachment.

I have now, Sir, only to mention my extreme satisfaction of the gallantry and conduct displayed by the officers, non-commisioned officers, and men composing the detachment I had the honour to command, not only in an action of nearly six hours, but also for the perseverance and cheerfulness with which they performed a retreat, the difficulties of which it would be superfluous to mention to you.

I enclose a Return of the loss I have sustained, which I am happy to say is not considerable.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHARD CHURCH
Com. Detachmt. Royal Corsican Regt.

No. 3.

To Lieut.-General Sir John Stuart,

Sir, Capri, 18th October, 1808.

My letters to the 11th inst. will have informed your Excellency of the enemy's operations against the post which I occupied in Capri to that day inclusive. On the 12th, as well as for three preceding days, his fire from the heights had wholly ceased; a signal flying from them indicating his being in want of supplies. On the morning of the 13th a flotilla consisting of 95 small vessels and boats, of which about 30 were gun-boats, were seen near the point of Campanella; the enemy's frigate and corvette lying near the bottom of the Gulf. H.M.S. Mercury, and the Sicilian squadron consisting of two frigates, two corvettes, and two galliots, were in the offing between Capri and Ischia, but the Sicilian flotilla, consisting of twelve gun-boats and two mortar-boats, lay near the cliffs on our side of the island, and H.M.S. Ambuscade was nearly opposite Palazzo di Mare, where the enemy's depôt was established. The flotilla, however, pushed forward to this latter point. The Sicilian gun-boats retired towards the Ambuscade, and, as they approached her, veered about and gave the enemy their fire. In this they were nobly led on by the armed boats of H.M.S. Ambuscade and Mercury, under the orders of Lieuts. King and Gordon, who kept up an incessant fire, and used every effort which British skill and intrepidity could suggest to impede the enemy's operation. The enemy's supply-boats hesitated to approach, but appeared urged on by the fire from his gun-boats in the rear of them. In this crisis the Ambuscade, finding herself compelled from some unfortunate circumstances of light winds and current, as Captain Durban afterwards assigned to me, to retire from her position, stood off, assisted by her boats towing. The Sicilian gun-boats, deprived of her support, followed the same movement, when the enemy's supply-boats, upwards of 50 in number, immediately pushed in, and, after discharging their cargoes, returned. The effects of these supplies were soon obvious in the fire

of the enemy's guns from the heights. In the morning of the 14th, five guns, of which one a 24-pounder, were opened on us from the cliffs of Ana Capri with a howitzer and three mortars. A 12-pounder had been brought during the night to a battery under the cliffs, within 400 yards from the Castle Hill. The enemy's sharpshooters established themselves close under the walls of the town, and a constant fire ensued between us. During the day and night of the 14th we moved two 32-pound carronades to batteries that bore on the enemy's approaches.

On the morning of the 15th the Sicilian gun-boats had left us, and their frigates were no longer in sight. The enemy received fresh supplies. Another 12-pounder had been brought to the battery under the cliff, an 18-pounder was conducting to the same spot, and two 12-pounders were preparing to be mounted in another battery about 700 yards in front of the town. A mortar was opened on us from Palazzo di Mare, and a gun, with furnace for red-hot shot for shipping, was mounted on the same spot. The battery under the cliff opened on the left angle of the town, where the walls of an old chapel, surmounted with a parapet wall, formed the only line of defence. In the course of four hours' firing a small but practicable breach was made. We were employed in filling it up, and forming a retrenchment behind it, during which I lost the immediate services of two valuable officers—Captain Church, who, whilst directing the work of his men, in this duty received a wound in his head from the splinter of a shot, and Ensign Coppon, who was shot in the head by one of the enemy's marksmen—when, as night was approaching, the enemy's firing wholly ceased, and it was reported to me a flag of truce was at the gate. The officer with it was one of General Lamarque's aide-de-camps, bringing me a letter with a summons to surrender. When this communication was made, my situation was as follows:—the breach, in itself, was trifling, but a few more hours' firing would have rendered it broad and practicable to any extent the enemy's purpose might require. I had no shot for several of my guns, nor shot nor ammunition for any of them beyond what might serve for one night firing. My musket ammunition was equally low. I had no intrenching tools, sandbags, planks for platforms, nor any implement nor material which had not been consumed in successive repairs.

In the morning of this day I had received a letter from Captain Durban, acquainting me of his inability, during light winds, to keep within the curve of the island, so as to prevent the enemy's communication with the shore, for which a force of gun-boats was requisite; and previous to the departure of the gun-boats, their commander had written to inform me of his inability to keep his station unless supported by men-of-war. There appeared, therefore, no impediment to the enemy's receiving succours of troops and stores to any extent, as he was close to the head-quarters of his army, and to the grand depôt of all his military stores. My men, who had been twelve successive nights under arms to meet an assault, which the enemy had thrice commanded (and brought his scaling-ladders to our walls), but which his troops had not dared to execute, had resisted the depression excited in viewing the enemy's succours arrive; but the various fatigues and labours they had undergone had much harassed and exhausted them.

To balance these considerations, two transport-ships and a brig were seen behind the island with troops on board, proving to be a detachment of 600 men, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Buckley. This very seasonable relief, however, did not possess all the advantages of which I was solicitous. It was insufficient to expel the enemy, and was not accompanied with any artillery, or artillery and engineer stores, of which I then stood more in need even than of troops. The propriety of its reception into the island even impressed me with some doubt, as it might tend to commit a greater number of men in a place which could not be considered as tenable against an enemy possessed of such superior resources, and such superior means of augmenting them. I however despatched an order, directing the officer commanding the detachment to land his troops immediately at Tragara, on the back of the island, to wait there with them until further orders, and to retain his boats; and, to gain as much time as possible, arranged that I would meet the French General at his advanced post in the morning, but that hostilities must cease during the night. The weather proved so tempestuous that Lieut.-Colonel Buckley could only land 220 men; the boats were compelled to return to their vessels, and in the morning the vessels themselves had disappeared. In this posture of affairs I went,

accompanied by Captain Arata, of the Royal Corsican Rangers, to meet the French General. He intimated an immediate surrender of the place. He proposed that myself, and five or six officers of my corps, should have permission to return to Sicily; but that the rest of the officers and the men must surrender as prisoners of war. He said he had more than ample means to force the place, and that 3000 grenadiers and voltigeurs, the *élite* of the French army in the kingdom of Naples, was prepared for the assault of the breach. I told General Lamarque that we were fully prepared to encounter any assault he could make, and had been long impatiently expecting him; that considerations, which I did not think it necessary to state to him, had urged me to listen to the overture which his letter had contained; but that neither myself nor any officer of my corps would, I felt, in any way permit that a distinction should be made between them and their men, in case the post they occupied was given up to him; the same fate must await both. I finally acquainted him the word "prisoners of war" would be suffered in no convention or agreement that could be framed. He proposed various modifications, such as that of the whole regiment being allowed to return to Sicily on their parole; but, objecting to all, except that of being allowed freely to quit and evacuate the post we held, with our arms and baggage, I took my leave. He called me back, said his orders from the King, as he called him (General Murat), were positive to make us all prisoners, and that he dare not make any agreement of a different tenor, but that he would write to him, and endeavour to obtain his consent. I left him to act as he thought proper in this case, as everything which created delay was necessarily in my favour. In the interval, proposals for a convention, of which copy is annexed, were drawn up by me, which, with some modification, were consented to by him.

During this conference I learnt that General Regnier had landed at Capri on the preceding evening, and that General Murat, impatient of the delay which had opposed the capture of a place which, after the fall of Ana Capri, it was supposed would not have resisted an attack of twenty-four hours, had come to Massa, within four miles of the island, to hasten the operations for its reduction.

At four o'clock in the afternoon a flag of truce was again

announced at the gate, bringing me the ratification of the convention by General Lamarque. Preparations were made to receive his troops at the gate, when a demur ensued: General Lamarque sent to request I would meet him at the outward barrier; and he there acquainted me, in terms of real or feigned regret, that General Murat had positively refused his consent, and insisted on our surrendering prisoners of war; and that he, General Lamarque, wished to have his ratification back again. This I refused. He proposed again sending to General Murat. To gain time was my object. I insisted therefore, and obtained, that, whatever might be the answer, no hostilities should take place during the night, nor until an hour's notice had been given after seven o'clock in the ensuing morning. On the 16th the convention was ratified, and the necessary conditions fulfilled on our part for the delivery of the place. Early this morning we received information of a large reinforcement having been despatched from Messina, and of a ship having sailed with artillery and engineer supplies; but this succour, or rather the information of it, as the transports were not in sight, was now too late, and the disappointment it created admitted of no other consolation than that the disastrous state of the weather, which during the whole progress of the enemy's operations had been as favourable to him as it was unpropitious to us, would scarcely have admitted a disembarkation had they been within our view. During the course of the attack, the enemy, not trusting alone to the force of his arms, nor to the advantages which the proximity to his resources afforded him, used the most insidious arts of seduction and intrigue. The corps always opposed to that under my orders was composed of select companies of marksmen of the Corsican Legion. Among our officers and men, and theirs, were therefore brothers, cousins, and relations, for twelve days constantly opposed to each other. Proclamations, signed by M. Saliceti, were addressed to my officers and men, urging them, by every inducement of promises and threats, to abandon H.M.'s service, and join the French; but the attempt failed of its effect, for during the course of hostilities the most constant fire was kept up between them, and not one instance of unfaithfulness occurred.

In concluding this relation, however its result, I feel it a duty to acknowledge my obligations to various individuals. Captains

Durban and Towell of H.M.S. Ambuscade and Mercury, gave me the assistance of their marines, under the orders of Lieutenants Whylooke and Tyder, whose services were most zealously exerted: and I received from them every supply of ammunition which the nature of their stores admitted.

The services of Lieutenants King and Gordon, and of the seamen under their orders, have been before distinctly stated; but it was not in resisting the enemy's convoy alone where their conduct excited the admiration of the enemy, but in many other services their assistance proved eminently useful. Lieutenant-Colonel Buckley did not arrive until hostilities had ceased, but the promptitude with which he disembarked his few men in a tempestuous night demands my best acknowledgments. From Majors M'Combe and Schummelketel I constantly received the most strenuous support. The unwearied vigilance and exertions of Captains Arata and Church, whose alarm-posts were on the points most exposed, cannot be too warmly expressed by me. To Lieutenants Hatzenbuhler and La Guidara, who undertook various laborious duties in the artillery department, I felt particular obligation. To Lieutenant Lowen, Adjutant of the regiment, and Mr. Cleeve, Paymaster, who volunteered his services on different important occasions, I feel strongly indebted; and I must conclude in general by observing that, where any deficiency may have appeared, the fault must have been with me, for the support I received from both officers and men was such as to leave nothing but approbation to them.

Annexed is a return of the killed and wounded, from the 12th to the 15th. Of the enemy's loss I had no means to judge. He acknowledged to only 200 men from the commencement of his attack at Ana Capri to the surrender of the town; but so many boats with wounded were at several times sent over, that I am led to believe his loss must have at least doubled that number. His force, by every concurrent testimony, was about 3000 men, almost wholly the grenadiers, voltigeurs, and rifle companies of his army, with four generals, the heads of departments, and the respective colonels of most of the corps.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 4.

To Lieut.-General Sir John Stuart.

Sir, Messina, 30th Nov. 1808.

Pursuant to your Excellency's permission to me to afford some further information regarding the causes of the loss of Ana Capri in the first day of the enemy's attack on the island of Capri, I have the honour to observe, in addition to what will have been inferred on perusal of my Report, of my having attributed this disaster to the facility with which the enemy had been suffered to effect his landing in the first instance, that from subsequent inquiries it does not appear that any troops or party of men whatever was opposed to the enemy at the spot of debarkation, a scattered and too distant fire from the heights above it being the only obstacle to his attempt.

In my arrangements for the defence of Ana Capri I had distinctly specified, as will appear by the annexed copy of an order for the alarm-posts of the Royal Regiment of Malta, that the picquets on the intermediate points between the towers of Limbo and Damacuta should be reinforced by small parties of men. In the uncertainty to what point along the line the enemy would direct his attack, an opposition would have been prepared for him at all, whilst reserves were stationed on near and commanding points in the rear, ready to have reinforced the part that might be attacked, or to have rapidly combined together for a general attack against the enemy, had any one point been forced by him; but to the inattention to this arrangement, proceeding, as I conceive, from Major Hamill's confidence in the commanding but too extensive position his men occupied along the heights in rear of the places of debarkation, I am led to attribute in a principal degree the misfortune of the day. The troops posted among the rocks on the assailable parts would have been exposed to a very heavy fire from the enemy's gun-boats and vessels; but small parties of them would have found cover behind ledges and among the crevices of the rocks; and this was, at all events, the only effectual defence, exclusive of that which might have been afforded by artillery, or by an

attack with the bayonet, before the enemy had completed his landing, which the nature of the position afforded. Notwithstanding the disastrous event of the first day, I still felt that confidence in the resources which the position of Capri afforded me, that, had my suggestions to Major Hamill for the retreat of his corps been duly attended to, or had not his untimely death prevented its communication, I should have hoped the final result would still have been favourable to us. Even when informed that the enemy had possessed himself of the pass by Capo di Monte, I suggested the means by which, through an extraordinary effort, a retreat might still be accomplished to the town, but this only was effected by the detachment under Captain Church's command. Had my views been fulfilled, the junction of Major Hamill's force to mine would have enabled me to have taken such effectual steps for retarding the enemy's approaches against the town as would have afforded ample time for the arrival of the succours under Major-General M'Farlane. The superior force which might have been then brought against the troops in the valley would have enabled him to have expelled the enemy from it, if not forced to terms of immediate and unconditional surrender the generals and troops that were in it, from the danger, if not impracticability, of their retreat up the steps of Ana Capri under the fire to which they would have been exposed. The fall of Ana Capri, if not the immediate consequence, would probably have soon followed. Cut off from their communication with the continent by the intermediate position which we held, and by the obstacles which fresh naval arrivals would have presented to them, they would have probably been soon compelled to sue for terms of surrender, or otherwise might have been forced to it by a proper combination of the same means which they directed against us. Even with the means I possessed after the loss of Ana Capri, and of the troops employed for its defence, this favourable result might have been looked to, had not a series of circumstances, as unfortunate as they were unforeseen, opposed my best efforts.

I pray your Excellency to pardon this exposition of my arrangements, as well to obviate the disaster which occurred on the first day in the fall of Ana Capri, as to remedy the loss when it had occurred. Your Excellency's letter to me of the

31st October, so flattering and so consoling to me in every other point, appears in this to have required some additional explanation. The best, however, I fear may prove but a feeble one, of an event so disastrous, and which admits of no other consolation for myself than the hope it may appear to your Excellency not to have resulted from any deficiency in the arrangements I had formed, but rather to their undue execution, and in a certain degree to the untimely fate of the brave but unfortunate officer to whose charge the post had been intrusted.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, most humble servant,

(Signed) H. Lowe, Lt.-Col. Com.

No. 5.

To Lieut.-Colonel Lowe.

Sir, Palermo, October 31, 1808.

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your different communications of the 18th and 25th instant, and however I am to regret the circumstance of our being dispossessed of a position so strong, and in many respects so useful, as that which we held in the Bay of Naples, yet I am happy to express my perfect satisfaction at your own able, gallant, and judicious conduct, as well as at the zealous and animated support which you acknowledge to have received from your officers and those brave soldiers who adhered to and returned with you hither in the defence of the town of Capri; a point which, after your first most unexpected and unaccountable disaster at Ana Capri, could scarcely any longer be regarded as a military post.

The honourable terms of convention which you finally obtained test the firmness of your resistance, and as such I venture to hope will be most graciously considered by his Majesty and his Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief; and the article which you established for the security of the inhabitants of the island has been extremely satisfactory to the feelings and solicitude of this Court.

I have the honour, &c.

J. Stuart, Commander of the Forces.

No. 6.

To Lieut.-Colonel Lowe.—(Private.)

My dear Sir, Palermo, October 31, 1808.

I annex hereto an official letter on the subject of the events at Capri. The wind, the elements conspired against us. I feel the firmest conviction of your having done everything that the post of Capri, which you so bravely defended, admitted of; but when Ana Capri was wrested, I confess I ceased to be sanguine. I lament the defection of so many of your men after having behaved so well. As the French will probably display much falsehood in their accounts and statements, and as Government might wish to have some counter documents to publish, I could wish you, if possible, to compress a detail of events into a shorter abstract compass for the purpose, either in one or two separate letters as you judge fit. At all events, I shall send home the letters which I have already received from you, as I have done the whole of your former narratives from the period of the enemy's landing.

I beg you to believe me very sincerely yours,

J. Stuart.

No. 7.

To Lieut.-Colonel Lowe.

My dear Sir, Pozzo di Gatto, October 28, 1808.

I trust you will not see any objection to the Brigade Order enclosed herewith. I leave it to you to translate and explain it to your corps. I am not fond of *compliments*, and, as I detest deception in any shape, I never pay *false* ones; but under the circumstances of the case, I should not have felt satisfied with myself had I not made some few remarks upon your corps being placed under my orders.

I remain, &c.

Wm. Lumley, Brigadier-General.

BRIGADE ORDER.

Pozzo di Gatto, October 28, 1808.

The Royal Corsican Rangers having been directed to occupy the cantonments of Spadafora and Venetico, Brigadier-General Lumley takes the earliest opportunity of expressing to that gallant corps in general, and its no less gallant as well as able commander in particular, the real satisfaction he feels in having them placed under his orders. Under every disadvantage of proximity to the enemy's coast, and various other unfortunate and untoward circumstances, the determined defence made by Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe and the corps under his command, and the honourable convention entered into with the enemy when obliged to cede the island of Capri to a great superiority of force, sufficiently prove the value of the corps, and how fully they are to be depended upon in any situation; and the very terms of the convention also prove how fully their valour was appreciated, and how much the enemy had still to apprehend from them if driven to a final desperate resistance. Although the details of the recent transactions in that island have not yet officially been made public, yet sufficient is already known to justify the Brigadier-General in saying that it was the misfortune, not the fault, of their judicious commander, to be obliged to evacuate a post where further resistance would only have occasioned an unavailing loss.

The Brigadier-General has only to add that he entertains the sanguine hopes of that corps remaining under his orders, of his still having the assistance of their able commander, until an opportunity may offer under less disadvantageous circumstances of proving to the enemy that they are equally respectable, are equally to be dreaded in the field, as they have been in the post which they so gallantly endeavoured to maintain.

A. STUART, Assist. Adj.-Gen.

No. 8.

TO LIEUT.-COLONEL LOWE (FROM MAJOR-GENERAL CAMPBELL).

My dear Sir, Messina, October 25, 1808.

I cannot permit the present dragoon to depart without tendering you my sincere congratulations on your safe arrival

in this island, and with sentiments of no less sincerity do I beg you will accept the same on the judicious, gallant, and creditable, though unsuccessful, issue of your late contest, in which you had not only a very superior and active enemy to meet, but also the elements most hostilely in array against you. You will be busy, I know, and I shall consequently detain you no longer than to assure you of the esteem with which I remain, my dear Sir, yours most faithfully, &c.

J. CAMPBELL.

No. 9.

TO LIEUT.-COLONEL LOWE.

My dear Colonel, Messina, October 25, 1808.

I have great pleasure in congratulating you upon your arrival in Sicily, after a resistance to such superior force, and under such discouraging circumstances, as must do you the highest honour, and affords a subject of great pride and gratification to your many friends, amongst whom I have not been the least anxious for your success.

Very truly and faithfully yours,

H. E. BUNBURY.[1]

No. 10.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL OAKES.

My dear General, Ischia, July 18, 1809.

It was my intention on my arrival here to have addressed to you some relation of our operations in this part of the world; but the first part of these had scarcely terminated in the surrender of the castle of Ischia before I was seized with a fit of illness which for a time wholly disabled me. I am now just recovered from it, and have consequently no further pretext for any neglect, yet the means of information you will possess in conversation with the bearer of this letter (Colonel Bunbury) must render any communication from me absolutely superfluous. The event by which this army seems to me most likely to be

[1] Now Lieut.-General Sir Henry Edward Bunbury, Bart., K.C.B.

affected is his departure from it; the causes he will of course explain. I am not in any respect surprised at them, nor, considering the peculiar circumstances of his situation, and that of this army, can I disapprove the resolution he has adopted. In saying thus much, however, most sincerely and poignantly do I lament and shall I regret his departure from the army, not only as being one of the most zealous and able assistants its commander could have in his present important and critical duties, but on the score of personal obligations; for the generous and noble concern he has manifested towards me, under various circumstances of the most unpleasant treatment, has been such as has impressed me with the most lively gratitude towards him, and with true respect for the manliness and independence of his character. . . . . .

I have heard nothing new regarding the publication of my Capri reports, except that a motion was made in the House of Commons for their being published. Awaiting their appearance, and still conceiving the matter may perhaps become subject of public inquiry, I have delayed making any general communication of the journal I have written, but I will not omit the present opportunity of transmitting it to you, with request, after your own perusal of it, to send it to Colonel Gifford by the same person who will now deliver it to you. I am desirous for the present it should not extend beyond yourself and him. There is no person who is so well acquainted with every circumstance regarding this affair as Colonel Bunbury; and I may therefore freely refer you to him for any additional information which the friendly interest and regard you have so constantly testified towards me may prompt you to require on the subject.

I am, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 11.

To Lieut.-Colonel Lowe.

My dear Lowe, Malta, August 29, 1809.

When I look back I feel quite ashamed to think how long it is since I have written to you. Why this should have hap-

pened I cannot satisfactorily account to myself; and I will therefore, without attempting any apology, only request you to be assured that my silence has not proceeded from intentional neglect, and that I have not for a moment ceased to feel the warmest and most friendly interest in all that concerns you. It was, therefore, with much sorrow I learnt from our friend Lieutenant-Colonel Bunbury the causes you had for dissatisfaction in your present situation, and the uneasiness you suffered in consequence, which you also so forcibly express in your letter of the 18th ultimo; though, indeed, my dear Lowe, I think you feel the thing too keenly when you talk of any treatment from any individual whatever compelling you to quit a profession in which you bear so high a character, have acquired so much honour, and have so many friends. It sometimes happens that political matters, unconnected with military operations, make it necessary to suppress the details of services, however meritorious in themselves, though they are not the less valued where it is most desirable they should be so, and I suppose this may be the cause why the accounts of the capture of Capri have never been published. This certainly bears hard and is very cruel upon you, because it may serve to impress the minds of some that there have been faults in conducting the defence; and these may for a time, by those who are unacquainted with your talents and character, be attributed to you who commanded. You have, however, the inward satisfaction of being certain that you have done your duty to the utmost, and the still further gratification of knowing that every officer and soldier of this army, and even the enemy, are unanimous in applauding your bravery, as well as the able manner in which the defence was conducted, and of which the very terms of the capitulation is a sufficient proof. I have read the journal you sent me with the closest attention, which is perfectly clear and distinct, and is very satisfactory. Bunbury's very short stay did not afford me the opportunity of reading it as I wished while he was here; and as I could not think of letting so interesting a paper go without giving it the most attentive perusal, I was necessitated to infringe upon your injunctions of forwarding it by him. I therefore detained it, but I have since sent it home by the last packet, directed to Bunbury, under cover to the Adjutant-General, and I hope the delay will only make the

difference of a week or two in our friend Gifford's receiving it. . . . . I hasten to assure you of my warmth and constant wishes for your health and happiness, and to subscribe myself, my dear Lowe, most faithfully yours,

H. OAKES.

No. 12.

To LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HON. SIR CHARLES STEWART, K.B.

Dear Sir, Châlons, February 17, 1814.

I avail myself of the opportunity of the Baron Marshal's going to the head-quarters to send you the duplicate of my reports for these four days past. I hope the originals have been duly received.

I have been favoured with your letter of the 13th from Troyes, and feel most sensible of your kind acknowledgment and approbation of my former reports. I shall not fail to keep you as accurately informed as my own means of information will admit of everything that passes in this quarter. In my reports of the events that have occurred I have sought to do justice to the energy and merit of the troops, without, however, being blind to the misfortune of not having united the several corps together before they were brought into full contact with the enemy. The circumstances are accounted for here as follows:—That Prince Schwartzenberg gave in a plan for marching upon the flanks of the enemy; that this army began to execute it, and, hearing of the advance of the grand army upon Troyes, thought it necessary to push forward in order to keep pace with it; but that the halting at Troyes, and the diverging march which took place afterwards, was not only a deviation from the original design, but left the enemy at liberty to pursue his movements against the different corps of this army alone. As one day, however, would have been sufficient for the several corps to have united, it is much to be regretted that this army did not by such means render itself independent of the operations of the other: the result by this time would have been probably conclusive. It is idle work now, however, to reason of the past. This army has extricated itself in such a manner as to cover the errors into which it may have fallen. The great

disadvantage that has been suffered is in the moral effect on the minds of the people. 'The military strength, when the army moves forward again the day after to-morrow, will be greater than ever, and I trust no further separation of its component parts will again ensue.

I have been an advocate for marching upon Paris, because I can conceive no other object could have induced the Allies to penetrate so far into the country, and that, when once decided upon, there should have been no delay in executing it. The battle of Rothière appeared to me to open the way, not however by separate and detached corps, or in a long line of march, but in one, or at least two masses, moving on the different line of the Seine and Marne if acting separately, or between the two rivers, and in *the rear of the enemy*, if united together. *Originally*, I should not have been an advocate for marching upon the capital. To have menaced it from the German provinces on this side of the Rhine with a powerful army of reserve, and at the same time to have secured by conquest the countries that are likely to become the subject of contest in a negotiation, would have seemed to me the best plan to pursue. Antwerp and Savoy are of more importance than Paris; but, when once resolved on, there should have been no question about the means or the resolution to execute. The rapidity of the execution should have been commensurate with the boldness of the design. The people of France looked to such a march as their only hope for peace. They reckoned upon the positive ability of the Allies to accomplish it, and were disposed to meet us with their best wishes, if the troops conducted themselves according to the instruction of their chiefs, and refrained from every species of pillage and molestation.

To have destroyed the present government, it appears to me, should have been the real object of it, and that well merited the effort. The people of France have not spirit of themselves to do it—there appears such an absence of all sense of personal or national honour in everything that regards by whom they are governed; but they would look on with indifference and let the Allies do the work for them, and perhaps, if victories were gained, some latent sparks of affection for their ancient house would break forth. Insurrections have taken place on some occasions, but to these the people have been driven by the excesses

of the army. There cannot be a stronger proof of the little reliance Napoleon places on their exertion in his favour, or how little confidence he has even in the affections of his army, than his constantly employing his guards on all the late occasions, and his finding it necessary to be himself present. Considering matters in this light, I should be an advocate for going on. Peace may be made with Napoleon, but there are so many seeds for future discord in the principles and policy of his government, that I think no sacrifice can be too great to obtain his downfall. In a moral and religious point of view matters appear to me in the same light. All that has hitherto occurred adverse is, that partial advantages have been gained against *detached corps*, whilst the enemy has shown himself unable to cope with the whole. Something has been lost also in the moral effect on the minds of the people, but this army, when Bulow joins, will be upwards of one hundred thousand men, and the grand army must be also increasing. If provisions and ammunition do not fail—if the Allies remain united and look to one definite object, the restoration of the Bourbons, to be obtained as far as possible by the suffrages of the people—success, I should hope, would still crown their efforts.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 13.

To Colonel Lowe.

My dear Colonel, Troyes, February 13, 1814, 3 P.M.

I have received with much satisfaction your several reports up to the 12th from your bivouac at La Bergère. As our conferences at Châtillon were suspended, I came over here to know and see what was going on. My brother is much pleased with the clear and detailed manner in which you have kept us informed, and I think the transmitting them through Burghersh is an advantage, as we get them thus sooner and accurately wherever Castlereagh may be. I think I have received reports for every day, and none have failed; I have two or three duplicates. I am not at ease about the general positions. I think we are too wide, too much in detail: no combi-

nation or *ensemble.* I hope Bonaparte will not carry all his force against you, for they have been waiting two days here, knowing some of your corps were attacked, to know what it was, and to see where you were, when the circumstance of an attack on you should have been the very reason why we ought to have moved forward. I am at a loss to account for Schwartzenberg's movements to his left, first on Bar-sur-Seine, and then on Sens. We are so far committed to our left we shall find it difficult to get back. Schwartzenberg will collect between Provins and Villenove; I shall go back to Châtillon, and I believe our conferences will be renewed. I think you are rather too hot for Paris, since we have seen so little spirit among the people; we must not to gain 225 guineas give up gaining 200. In case of a *malheur,* our position in the rear is far from good. I think we should never excuse ourselves to Europe or posterity if we let our present game slip through our fingers. I would say more, but I am afraid of private opinions in a letter that may be opened. Continue your accounts as much in detail as you can. Tell Harris, with my best regards, that when he can join me with a victory I shall like it.

Make my best and sincerest regards to the Marshal, General Gneisenau, Colonel . . . . ., and Giulay, and believe me yours ever most truly,

CHARLES STEWART.

No. 14.

TO COLONEL BUNBURY, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE WAR DEPARTMENT.—(Private.)

Head Quarters, Field Marshal Blücher's Army,
Montmirail, March 26, 1814.

My dear Colonel,

As Sir Charles Stewart and Lord Burghersh send some official relations of the battles and affairs that have been taking place since the 20th instant, it may appear superfluous for me to trouble you with any account of them; but as the cavalry of the army of Silesia had the greatest share in that of yesterday, I shall still intrude on your time. On the 24th instant the grand army, and the army of Silesia and the North under

Blücher, were in full communication. Prince Schwartzenberg had his head-quarters at Vitry; Marshal Blücher at Châlons. Bonaparte, faithful to the project indicated in his letter to the Empress, of marching towards his fortresses, to draw off the Allies from Paris, had moved to the Dizier; the movement of Prince Schwartzenberg on Vitry kept him in the delusion that his project was in play and succeeding. To have followed him after so manifest a discovery of his precise views was not natural. The march to Paris was the counter-movement he obviously dreaded; a resolution was formed to undertake it, and, on the evening of the 24th, Field-Marshal Blücher received the intimation from his Sovereign, as well as from the Emperor of Russia, that his army, as well as the grand army, was to direct its march immediately on that point, leaving a corps of 9000 cavalry, under General Winzingerode, to watch the enemy's army. The Emperor's and Prince Schwartzenberg's head-quarters were announced for the following day to be at Fère Champenoise, and Marshal Blücher's at Etoges. The corps of Marmont and Mortier were supposed at this time to be near one of these places. Marshal Blücher commenced his march early in the morning, and at about 8 o'clock a column of the enemy's baggage was observed to be moving across the great plain of Châlons towards Fère Champenoise. It was by Captain Harris, the Aide-de-camp of Sir Charles Stewart, and whom he had attached to me, this body of the enemy was first discovered. The head of the advanced guard of cavalry was ordered to reconnoitre it, and was followed by the remainder; the convoy was attacked and taken, and with it about 800 prisoners. At a very short distance from it another column was observed, consisting of infantry and artillery. The capture of this required other means; the army, moving suddenly, had faced about from the front it held on the preceding day, and, so large a body of the cavalry having been detached, there was only the small corps which had formed the rear-guard to immediately bring forward. The whole of this was ordered forward, but eight squadrons, with about 200 Cossacks, were all that General Korff, who commanded the cavalry, could at first get up: with these he proceeded; I followed their movements. The infantry of Marshal's Blücher's army was at this time several miles behind, out of all sight or observation of what might be

likely to pass; no time was lost by General Korff in approaching the enemy's column, which appeared to consist of a force of about 5000 men. A resolution was immediately taken to charge them; the enemy, however, formed into one large hollow oblong square, having his guns in the centre; there was a chariot, with a lady in it, conspicuous amongst the guns and ammunition carts which filled up the greater part of the centre. In this disposition the column continued its march, the openness of the country admitting it to move in almost any direction which the Commander might please. It was not until the cavalry were prepared to make a charge that the column suspended its movement. It had disregarded the occasional galling fire of the Cossacks, who surrounded, approached, and fired their pieces at it in the most daring manner; but advantage was taken of a piece of ground where the column became a little lengthened out and broken, to make a charge upon it. General Korff ordered the attack, and the cavalry rushed on with the utmost impetuosity; but they were received by so steady a fire both of the artillery, which had been brought up in intervals made for it, as well as musketry, that no impression could be made; the cavalry found themselves compelled to retreat out of the range of the fire, and to wait for some more favourable opportunity. Several desultory attacks were afterwards made, as the nature of the ground, which sometimes compelled the enemy to form into three or four squares instead of one extensive oblong, admitted, but without any other effect than that of a few men on either side killed or wounded. In the mean while a further support of the Russian cavalry came up, under the command of General Vasillchikoff; and it was determined that another charge should be made. The same disposition of the cavalry took place as before, and the enemy awaited with equal firmness its approach. The charge was ordered, made, and for some time resolutely persevered in; but the enemy's artillery, combined with the fire of their infantry, offered a too powerful means of resistance. The most harassing fire was however kept up by the skirmishers and the Cossacks, and the enemy obliged by the positions which the cavalry, ever circling round it, took up, to deviate from the line of march which it would have taken if left wholly to itself. Some hours thus passed. The enemy had a great superiority of numbers over

the force by which it was thus harassed; but this superiority was of no avail, except for mere defensive purposes, against the arm by which they were pursued. To delay and interrupt their march, and cut off all stragglers, until guns or infantry could be brought up, were now the chief objects of the two Russian Generals.

Upon a sudden the noise of a very distant cannonade was heard in the direction where it was supposed the army under Prince Schwartzenberg might be moving. Anxious to learn the cause, I rode on as fast as I could, followed only by a Cossack orderly, to the highest piece of ground which lay in the direction whence the cannonading had been heard, with the hope of being enabled to discover the smoke, and thus to fix the point where the troops might be engaged. I rode up very suddenly to the top of a high mound, being at this time almost out of sight of our own cavalry and the enemy's division which it was following, when, at only a few hundred yards before me, at the top of another height, I observed a large group of mounted officers, with several orderlies and other attendants, designating that some distinguished person must be amongst them. I could entertain little doubt but that the party must have come from Prince Schwartzenberg's army. I approached them, however, with some degree of caution until I could distinguish precisely who they were, when, suddenly struck with the appearance of one amongst them, I exclaimed, in a tone of voice loud enough to be heard by him and the persons with him, "Ah! c'est le Feld Maréchal Comte de Wredé." I had only seen Comte de Wrede once before, but his figure and dress were so conspicuous, being distinguishable also by wearing a very large feather or plume of feathers in his hat, as to cause him to be instantly recognised by me. Finding himself thus spoken of by name, he immediately replied, "Oui, Monsieur, et qui êtes vous donc?" "Je suis le Colonel Anglais attaché à l'armée du Maréchal Blücher." "Et qu'est-ce corps que je vois là?" "C'est l'avant garde de l'armée du Maréchal, qui attaque une division de l'ennemi." "Et voilà la grande armée," immediately replied the Field Marshal Comte de Wrede, pointing with his hand to a body of cavalry which appeared at a considerable distance in an opposite direction to that in which I had come, and which I had not before observed; and thus it

was precisely that the junction between the grand army under the command of Prince Schwartzenberg and that of Field Marshal Blücher first took place—a junction from which all that remained of hope for the fortunes of Bonaparte immediately fled. Comte de Wrede then interrogated me as to the force of the enemy's division which the Russian cavalry had been attacking, and why it had not been already cut up and destroyed. I mentioned to him that repeated charges were made without effect. He exclaimed, "C'était une honte ; que cela ne devrait pas être ; qu'on aurait dû la détruire ; qu'il ne concevait pas comment cela ne fut pas fait." He asked the names of the two Generals who had commanded. I told him Generals Korff and Vasillchikoff, and that there had not appeared any want of good will on their part. Without loss of time, however, Comte de Wrede despatched immediately an officer of his staff to order up the first corps he might meet of his own cavalry (Bavarians); and not a long time elapsed before they joined, when Comte de Wrede assumed the direction of the combined attack to be made by Generals Korff and Vasillchikoff, as well as by the troops under his own orders.

I concluded that now an inevitable destruction awaited the French column. Comte de Wrede gave his orders, and was forward also in advancing with his men, animating them by his example as well as by his words; but the steadiness and resolution of the commander of the French column was not to be overcome. The cavalry were received again with a well-served and steady fire of guns and musketry in every point where it was attempted to make an impression, and the failure of the Comte de Wrede was as complete and full as that of the two Russian Generals had been.

Fresh corps of cavalry now began to advance, and also a numerous body of Cossacks; and very soon there came up the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, attended by the officers of their respective suites, by Lord Cathcart, Sir Charles Stewart, and Lord Burghersh. Prince Schwartzenberg also soon came up.

This was the only occasion where I ever recollected to have seen the Emperor Alexander assume a personal command in any of the battles where I had been present near him, or had heard what his conduct upon other occasions had been. Anxious

only to supply the means by which the Generals who commanded his troops were enabled to accomplish their successes—readily always yielding to place his troops under the orders of the most distinguished officers of the day, without regard to the Generals under whom they were thus placed being under any tie of personal or of public service towards him—forward himself nevertheless in every affair, and active in personally ordering forward the reserves of his own guard wherever they could be advantageously employed—he still acted so upon all occasions as never to attempt to strip a single leaf from the laurels of the general officers to whom the command of his troops had been intrusted, but to leave wholly with them the merit of every exploit.

A sudden and unexpected union of different bodies from the two main armies having however upon this occasion taken place, it might have become difficult to determine upon whom the chief command should fall. Howsoever this may be, he at once assumed it, saw the difficulty of crushing a body of infantry who had given proofs of their being so resolutely disposed, so well commanded, and were at the same time so advantageously formed, and having artillery also to defend themselves, by cavalry attacks alone. His first thought, therefore, was to order up some batteries of horse artillery. The moment these came up the situation of the enemy's column became evidently hopeless. Showers of grape-shot were poured in amongst them; and in a very short time one of the battalions, or rather a number of men equal to about one strong battalion, became separated from the rest and dragged a little in the rear. They also formed a square; but on the first approach of a body of cavalry to attack them they suddenly grounded their arms, and the commanding officer moved forward to declare that they surrendered themselves as prisoners. I was near the Emperor Alexander at this moment. He desired the commanding officer to come up, and said to him, "Vous vous êtes conduit en brave homme," shook him by the hand, and then gave directions that he and his men might be taken proper care of.

To save an unnecessary effusion of human blood was now obviously the desire of the Emperor Alexander. He directed Colonel Rappetel, the aide-de-camp of General Moreau, to advance towards the French column, and to offer them his protection if they would surrender themselves. Rappetel advanced

towards them, waving a white handkerchief in his hand. A momentary suspension of the fire and attack on the part of the allied troops ensued. He was received, however, by a shot from the enemy, and immediately fell.

It was obvious that all kind of parley was useless. The artillery again opened their fire. The shattered, broken, and now entirely disordered column, which at every step it advanced left a broad track of dead and wounded men behind it, could hardly oppose any resistance to the immense body of cavalry by which it was surrounded; and one general overwhelming charge—accompanied by the so well known and, as it too frequently proved to the French, tremendous "hourrah"—of the Cossacks ensued. Those alone escaped from the blows who were hemmed up in the centre, and protected by the mangled bodies of the men in the foremost ranks, which strewed the ground so thickly that neither the long pikes of the Cossacks and Lancers nor the swords of the Dragoons could reach beyond them. Every one present had joined in this general charge, and such was its impetuosity that many individuals were wounded even by the weapons of their own men. Colonel Campbell was run through the body by the pike of a Cossack, who, from the difference of his dress, had taken him for a French officer. I had myself advanced with one of the foremost divisions of cavalry, and was close to the enemy's column when the general attack and slaughter, or rather carnage, commenced. The blood rushed to my face, and I blushed for my very nature as a man at witnessing the scene of carnage which ensued. Every individual was instantly cut down or transfixed by the pikes of the Cossacks and Lancers; and nothing actually saved the whole body from destruction but the physical impossibility of reaching, by any means, the persons who were collected in the centre. The lady in the carriage was amongst the persons whose lives were saved; but a melancholy lot, it is too much to be feared, afterwards befel her.[1]

[1] Lord Londonderry states that the lady was young and beautiful, and the wife of a French Colonel; that, seeing her seized by three Bashkirs, who were carrying her off, he rushed forward and rescued her, and, giving her in charge to his own orderly, directed her to be taken to a place of safety. "The orderly accordingly put her *en croupe*, and rode off

No efforts were certainly wanting, on the part of the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzenberg, or any of the superior officers present, to stay the impetuosity of the mixed bands of troops by which the charge had been made, after the first work of slaughter had been done, and the most earnest attention was shown to save as many lives as possible. General Pacthod, it was now first ascertained, was the French officer by whom the enemy's column had been commanded. General Arney was also in command of a division. Their lives, with those of several officers and a numerous body of men which still lay collected in a large mass in the centre, were saved. They afterwards filed past the Emperor Alexander; and although I was not near him on that occasion, I found he had addressed the same consolatory language to them as he had done to the commanding officer of the first square that had surrendered. It was, I believe, to the humanity of Sir Charles Stewart that the lady in the carriage was indebted for the first acts of attention she received. The carriage, when it became separated from the square, was placed under a guard, and protection assured to her. Night, however, had come on before it was possible for any one to reach Fère Champenoise, the only place which offered any cover for the night. The carriage might have been found, but the lady was, I believe, never afterwards heard of. Thus terminated this remarkable day.

I am, &c. H. Lowe.

No. 15.

To Major-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Sir, Paris, April 14, 1814.

It is with great satisfaction I transmit to you a letter I have received from Colonel Thiele, aide-de-camp to his Prussian Majesty, accompanying the decoration of the Prussian Order of

towards Fère Champenoise; but he was attacked on the road by a ferocious band of Cossacks, pierced through, and left for dead, while the ruffians seized the lady, who was never more heard of, though the Emperor of Russia, who was greatly moved by the incident, made the utmost efforts to discover what had become of her."—*War in Germany and France*, pp. 288, 289, cited by Alison, *Hist. of Europe*, vol. x. p. 344 (second edit.).

Merit, which his Majesty has been pleased to confer on you as a mark of his approbation of your gallant and distinguished services during the period you were attached to the army under the command of Field-Marshal Blücher.

I have the honour, &c.

CHARLES STEWART, Lieut.-General.

No. 16.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL SIR CHARLES STEWART.—(Transl.)

Sir, Paris, April 11, 1814.

His Majesty the King my master, wishing to manifest his sense of the services and exertions of General Lowe, who has been hitherto attached to the Silesian army during this war, is therefore desirous of conferring upon him the Order of Merit; but as the General has already returned to England, I have it in command from his Majesty to request that you will have the goodness to take charge of the enclosed insignia, and forward them to him.

I have the honour, &c. V. THIELE.

No. 17.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Dear General Lowe, Paris, May 18, 1814.

I had not an opportunity to acquaint you yesterday that the Emperor of Russia was pleased to express himself to me in the most gracious terms on the subject of all your services since your arrival at Kalish, and throughout the campaign which followed that period. His Imperial Majesty added that he had spoken fully on the same topic to Field-Marshal Blücher, and had ordered a decoration to be sent to you in token of his esteem. I beg leave to congratulate you in anticipation on this well-earned mark of the sense entertained here of your merit and services; and if it shall be your wish, I will lose no time in asking the permission of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent that you may accept and wear the Order which is to be sent to you for military service.

I have the honour, &c. CATHCART, General.

No. 18.

To Major-General Sir Hudson Lowe.—(Transl.)

My dear General,

It is with particular satisfaction I have to announce to you that the Emperor of all the Russias has been pleased to confer upon you the Order of St. George, fourth class, as you will see by the enclosed letter from Prince Volkonsky. In conveying to you this agreeable information, I beg to renew to you the assurances of my true regard and gratitude for the services which you have rendered to me during the preceding campaigns.

I am, &c. Blücher.

No. 19.

To Major-General Sir Hudson Lowe.—(Transl.)

My dear General, Hirschberg, in Silesia, Nov. 23, 1814.

It is with the greatest satisfaction, my very dear and very honoured General, that I have received your letter of the 15th of September, which tells me that you have still preserved the remembrance of a man who is infinitely attached to you, and who in the course of a memorable campaign, if there ever were one, has learnt to appreciate your rare military talents, your profound judgment on the great operations of war, and your imperturbable *sang froid* in the day of battle. These rare qualities and your honourable character will link me to you eternally. You may always pride yourself, General, on having belonged to the small number of those who opposed to timid counsels a firmness not to be shaken by the reverses we sustained; and you have never departed from the conviction that to bring Europe back to a just and equitable equilibrium, and to overthrow the government of Imperial Jacobinism, its capital ought to be seized. Without that there is no safety. Happily the event has justified your calculations. The four Allied Powers are, thanks to God, still in the best intelligence. That which most disquiets France is the formation of our new Low Countries—of that formidable bastion which so effectually takes

in flank any invasion which France might project upon Germany, and which at the same time serves as a *tête de pont* for your passage by sea. But although our opinions coincide regarding the new state of the Low Countries, and the interest which we Prussians ought to take in it, still I cannot but take a different view from yours as to the cession to it of the Germanic States between the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Rhine. That which we have won with difficulty from the hands of a turbulent neighbour, we must not cede anew to another foreign state. Germany is a purely defensive country, and therefore, considering its pacific nature, cannot be sufficiently aggrandised. If these provinces fall to our lot, we will try to be your good neighbours, connected with you as strongly by the sentiment of national gratitude as by sound political views and well-understood self-interest.

Your appointment, my dear General, must place you in continual relation with the Duke of Wellington. You would oblige me infinitely by being the medium of presenting to that hero the sentiments of respectful homage which I feel for him. By the circumspection with which he conducted the war in the Peninsula, he prepared and led to that state of things which enabled Europe to emancipate herself; and it was after his fine campaign against Masséna that they began in Russia to believe in the possibility of resistance, and commenced making preparations for it. Grateful posterity will count the Duke of Wellington among the benefactors of the human race.

LIEUT.-GEN. COUNT DE GNEISENAU.

No. 20.

DECLARATION OF THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF THE ALLIED POWERS ASSEMBLED IN CONGRESS AT VIENNA, MARCH 13, 1815.

LES Puissances qui ont signé le Traité de Paris, réunies en Congrès à Vienne, informées de l'évasion de Napoléon Bonaparte et de son entrée à main armée en France, doivent à leur propre dignité et à l'intérêt de l'ordre social une déclaration solennelle des sentimens que cet événement leur a fait éprouver.

En rompant ainsi la Convention qui l'avait établi à l'île d'Elbe, Buonaparte détruit le seul titre légal auquel son existence se trouvait attachée. En reparaissant en France, avec des projets de troubles et de bouleversemens, il s'est privé lui-même de la protection des lois, et a manifesté à la face de l'univers qu'il ne saurait y avoir ni paix ni trève avec lui.

Les Puissances déclarent, en conséquence, que Napoléon Buonaparte s'est placé hors des relations civiles et sociales, et que, comme ennemi et perturbateur du repos du monde, il s'est livré à la vindicte publique.

Elles déclarent, en même tems, que, fermement résolues de maintenir intact le Traité de Paris du 30 Mai, 1814, et les dispositions sanctionnées par ce traité, et celles qu'elles ont arrêtées ou qu'elles arrêteront encore pour le compléter et le consolider, elles emploiront tous leurs moyens et réuniront tous leurs efforts pour que la paix générale, objet des vœux de l'Europe et but constant de leurs travaux, ne soit pas troublée de nouveau, et pour la garantir de tout attentat qui menacerait de replonger les peuples dans les désordres et les malheurs des révolutions.

Et quoiqu'intimement persuadés que la France entière, se ralliant autour de son Souverain légitime, fera incessamment rentrer dans le néant cette dernière tentative d'un délire criminel et impuissant, tous les Souverains de l'Europe, animés des mêmes sentimens et guidés par les mêmes principes, déclarent, que si, contre tout calcul, il pouvait résulter de cet événement un danger réel quelconque, ils seraient prêts à donner au Roi de France et à la nation Française, ou à tout autre Gouvernement attaqué, dès que la demande en serait formée, les secours nécessaires pour rétablir la tranquillité publique, et à faire cause commune contre tous ceux qui entreprendraient de la compromettre.

La présente Déclaration, insérée au Protocole du Congrès réuni à Vienne dans sa séance du 13 Mars 1815, sera rendue publique.

Fait et certifié véritable par les Plenipotentiaires des huit Puissances signataires du Traité de Paris, à Vienne le 13 Mars 1815.

Suivent les signatures dans l'ordre alphabétique des Cours :—

AUTRICHE :—
Le Prince de Metternich.
Le Baron de Wessenberg.

ESPAGNE :—
P. Gomez Labrador.

FRANCE :—
Le Prince de Talleyrand.
Le Duc de Dalberg.
Latour Dupin.
Le Comte Alexis de Noailles.

GRANDE BRETAGNE :—
Wellington.
Clancarty.
Cathcart.
Stewart.

PORTUGAL :—
Le Comte de Palmella.
Saldanha.
Lobo.

PRUSSE :—
Le Prince de Hardenberg.
Le Baron de Humboldt.

RUSSIE :—
Le Comte de Rasoumowsky.
Le Comte de Stackelberg.
Le Comte de Nesselrode.

SUÈDE :
Loewenhielm.

No. 21.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HUDSON LOWE.

My dear General, Liege, April 22, 1815.

I have many acknowledgments to make for the letter you were so good as to write to me, and many more to repeat for the kindness of your introduction to this head-quarters, which has obtained me many personal attentions. I should fail in doing your friends here justice were I to deny myself the pleasure of assuring you of their esteem and attachment, which they profess too earnestly and frankly not to make it very acceptable for its sincerity. The Dutch insinuation that our eyes were directed to our shipping was distinctly denied in Lord Wellington's letter to General Gneisenau, in which he said that the present position of the Prussians on the Meuse and Sambre would induce him in any operations to make common cause. Among other officers who hear reports without having access to official information, I have used your hint usefully; and I beg, as the greatest favour you can confer on me, that at any leisure you can spare you will do me the kindness to continue

these advices, which, in a new situation which you know so well, are very valuable. General Gneisenau told me his project had been approved by the King, but that he heard from Vienna there were likely to be so many delays, that he did not think operations could commence before the middle of June; and that, however good his principle for a campaign to Paris might have been then, that *delay* might now require a complete alteration or great modification in his plan. He did not state what these were likely to be, but he considers the undertaking against Napoleon as every day more serious from the leisure of preparation and influence over the national mind which this suspension of operations will afford him. There is a proclamation of the King from Berlin of the 15th, stating the grounds of the war with Napoleon. General Müffling tells me he has sent to head-quarters information of the state of the country between the Moselle and the Meuse. It is so thinly inhabited and so poor that, if Belgium does not assist in subsisting the troops this side the Meuse, and that operations are for a length of time suspended, there will be considerable difficulty in finding food for them. Prince Blücher is in excellent spirits and good health: he has written to the Duke announcing his intention of paying him a visit. If the Duke does not anticipate him, I trust he will make a parade of his staff to meet him on the road; and if there is any intention of this sort, and I am acquainted with it, I will take care that the hour of his arrival at Brussels shall be accurately known. May I request you will let one of your officers make out for me the new composition of the army, and a copy of the general orders relative to the officers on the staff, and what number and quality of troops have arrived since the 10th?

Excuse these troublesome questions, and believe me, &c.

H. HARDINGE.

No. 22.

CONVENTION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, AND PRUSSIA.

On the 2nd of August, 1815, the following Convention between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, respecting Bonaparte, was signed at Paris:—

"Napoleon Buonaparte being in the power of the Allied Sovereigns, their Majesties the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, have agreed, in virtue of the stipulations of the Treaty of the 25th of March, 1815, upon the measures most proper to render all enterprise impossible, on his part, against the repose of Europe.

"ART. 1. Napoleon Buonaparte is considered by the Powers who have signed the Treaty of the 25th of March last as their prisoner.

"ART. 2. His custody is especially intrusted to the British Government. The choice of the place, and of the measures which can best secure the object of the present stipulation, is reserved to his Britannic Majesty.

"ART. 3. The Imperial Courts of Austria and of Russia, and the Royal Court of Prussia, are to appoint Commissioners to proceed to and abide at the place which the Government of his Britannic Majesty shall have assigned for the residence of Napoleon Buonaparte, and who, without being responsible for his custody, will assure themselves of his presence.

"ART. 4. His Most Christian Majesty is to be invited, in the name of the four above-mentioned Courts, to send in the like manner a French Commissioner to the place of detention of Napoleon Buonaparte.

"ART. 5. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland binds himself to fulfil the engagements which fall to him by the present Convention.

"ART. 6. The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged, within fifteen days, or sooner if possible.

"In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms."

No. 23.

INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Sir, War Department, September 12, 1815.

1. My letter of the 24th of July informed you that his Royal Highness the Prince Regent had been pleased to command that the charge of Napoleon Buonaparte's person should be intrusted to you.

2. The island of St. Helena was fixed upon as the place of his future residence; and as it was found advisable to remove him from the ports of this country before you could arrive from Marseilles, the immediate charge of Buonaparte's person was confided to Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who was upon the point of sailing to assume the naval command at the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena.

3. I enclose, for your information and guidance, the copy of a Memorandum which I addressed upon this occasion to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and upon which Sir George Cockburn's instructions, as far as they regarded Napoleon Buonaparte, were founded.

4. I have little to add to the directions which are contained in this Memorandum; and you will observe them as the general principles by which your conduct is to be regulated. Many things, however, must be determined by local circumstances; and the experience which I have already had of your judgment and discretion makes me repose this most important trust, without apprehension, in your hands. You will observe, that the desire of his Majesty's Government is to allow every indulgence to General Buonaparte which may be compatible with the entire security of his person: that he should not by any means escape, or hold communication with any person whatever (excepting through your agency), must be your unremitted care; and these points being made sure, every resource and amusement which may serve to reconcile Buonaparte to his confinement may be permitted.

5. Upon your arrival at St. Helena you will receive the charge of General Buonaparte from Sir George Cockburn; and as he will remain in the naval command upon that station, and naval combination may be so essential towards precluding the escape of Buonaparte or his followers, you will concert with Sir George

Cockburn all the necessary measures of precaution, and will study to maintain the most perfect harmony between the naval and military services.

6. You may be assured of the support and prompt attention of his Majesty's Government, and the most liberal construction will be given to the measures which you may find it necessary to adopt under unforeseen or actual circumstances.

7. It was considered essential that you should hold the civil as well as military government of St. Helena; and the East India Company have acceded to the wishes of His Majesty's Government on this head. As the affairs of the island must be constantly interwoven with the duties of your military command, and with your arrangements regarding the persons confined in the island, it is considered advisable that your correspondence should be addressed, through the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, President of the Board of Control for Indian Affairs, and you will receive through the same channel your future instructions,[1] as well in regard to what concerns Napoleon Buonaparte as to what relates to the affairs of St. Helena; but in the event of any remarkable occurrence which it may be of importance for his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's Government to be apprized of, as well for its own information as for that of the great continental Powers who feel an interest in the safe custody of the person of Buonaparte, you will address your communication direct to me.

8. It only remains for me to inform you that four Commissioners, named by the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, France, and Prussia, are to reside in St. Helena, in order that these Powers may receive from time to time direct reports of the security of Buonaparte's person. These Commissioners will not be furnished with any power to interfere in the measures you may find it expedient to pursue. They will be simply the correspondents of their respective courts. It is hardly necessary that I should recommend your showing every attention and civility to the persons who may be employed upon this duty.

I have, &c.

BATHURST.

[1] All Sir Hudson Lowe's instructions respecting Napoleon were, however, sent to him by Earl Bathurst.

No. 24.

À L'Amiral Sir George Cockburn.

Monsieur l'Amiral, Ste. Hélène, Novembre 5, 1815.

Comme vous êtes chargé de tout ce qui nous concerne, j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser une note sur la manière dont le service s'est fait jusqu'ici près de l'Empereur. Je vous écrirai quelquefois sur ce qui nous est relatif.

Je vous prie d'agréer, &c.,

Le Grand Maréchal Cte. Bertrand.

Note.

L'Empereur s'est embarqué à bord du Bellérophon, en rade de l'Ile d'Aix, le 15 Juillet: il est resté sur ce bâtiment sans débarquer jusqu'au 7 Août, où il a été mis à bord du Northumberland, qui a fait voile pour Ste. Hélène, et a mouillé dans la rade, le 15 Octobre à 9 heures du matin, et est resté en rade le 15 et le 16. Le 17 à 8 heures du soir, après un embarquement de 95 jours, l'Empereur, accompagné de l'Amiral Sir G. Cockburn et du Grand Maréchal, est descendu en ville dans un hôtel garni, où il a occupé une chambre, le reste de la maison étant occupé par les officiers et autres personnes de la suite.

Le lendemain, 28, à 6 heures du matin, il est monté à cheval avec l'Amiral et le Grand Maréchal pour visiter Longwood, où il a déjeûné chez le Lieutenant du Gouverneur.

A son retour il s'est arrêté à deux milles de la ville, à l'extrémité de la vallée, où il a préféré demeurer dans une chambre que l'Amiral avait fait préparer, vu qu'en ville sa maison n'avait ni cour ni jardin pour se promener.

L'Empereur est encore aujourd'hui dans le même logement. Il y est mal, parceque le pavillon ne contient qu'une seule chambre, où il est obligé de coucher, de manger, de travailler, et de se tenir toute la journée. Le Comte de Las Cases et son fils occupent une petite chambre en haut.

Après un aussi long embarquement, il eût été à désirer que l'Empereur pût avoir un bain; mais cela a été impossible dans le local actuel, par le manque de toutes choses.

Il serait nécessaire que l'Empereur pût monter à cheval. Il faudrait pour cela quelque chevaux de selle que ses gens soigne-

raient; un pour lui, un autre pour l'officier de sa suite, et un troisième pour son domestique.

Après avoir été trois semaines à bord du Bellérophon avec nos armes et avec tous les égards dûs à l'Empereur et à nos rangs, on nous a désarmés contre toute justice, et contre l'usage même de la guerre, suivi envers des officiers généraux. L'Amiral vient de nous rendre nos épées, mais à la condition de ne point nous en servir, attendu que nous devons toujours nous considérer comme prisonniers de guerre.

Effectivement, nous ne pouvons communiquer avec le pavillon qu'habite l'Empereur sans être accompagnés par un sergent, et l'Empereur s'y est trouvé environné de plantons et d'officiers de service. Les plantons ont été depuis retirés. Il est bien à désirer que l'on se conduise vis à vis de l'Empereur de manière à éloigner de sa pensée le souvenir de l'horrible position où il se trouve. Elle est telle, on ose le dire, que les peuples barbares en seraient touchés et y auraient égard.

On ne peut craindre qu'on puisse s'échapper de ce rocher presque partout inabordable. Ne pourrait-on pas, si on le juge nécessaire, augmenter les postes sur le rivage, et nous permettre de nous promener dans l'île sans contrainte?

Il serait également à désirer que nous puissions nous trouver logés à côté de l'Empereur, afin de pouvoir lui tenir compagnie.

LE GRAND MARÉCHAL CTE. BERTRAND.

No. 25.

À L'AMIRAL SIR GEORGE COCKBURN.

Monsieur, Longwood, ce 21 Décembre, 1815.

Notre position à Longwood, quelqu'affreuse qu'elle soit, n'exciterait de notre part aucune plainte, et nous saurions la supporter avec la résignation du martyre, si l'on ne manquait continuellement aux égards dûs à nos rangs et à notre malheur. Si à l'injustice qu'a commise votre Gouvernement, d'envoyer l'Empereur Napoléon à St. Héléne, au mépris de tous les droits des nations, ce qui causera l'indignation de tous les ages et de tous les peuples, on a ajouté celle de nous reléguer sur le point de l'île le plus sauvage, du moins devions-nous espérer que

nous y trouverions les consolations dont vos Ministres n'avaient osé nous priver, et cependant chaque jour on restreint davantage les communications avec les habitans qu'autorisent celle de vos instructions que vous m'avez communiquée.

Vous aviez déterminé que nous pouvions nous promener dans toutes les parties de l'île, en étant accompagné par un officier Anglais ou par le Docteur O'Meara, Chirurgien de la Marine Royale Anglaise, et placé par vous à Longwood. Le Général Gourgaud s'est fait accompagner par cet officier dans une visite au Gouverneur à Plantation House. C'était se conformer aux règles fixées par vous; cependant vous avez blamé Monsieur O'Meara, et dès le lendemain avez mis à l'ordre des troupes, qu'il n'était plus opté à nous accompagner, et que nous ne pourrions désormais sortir de l'enceinte de Longwood sans être escortés par un officier, qui chaque fois vous désigneriez au Major du camp.

Il était convenu avec vous, Monsieur, qu'un Français remplirait à la grille de Longwood les fonctions de Suisse, et que les sentinelles lui adresseraient les visiteurs, pour qu'il leur apprît si elles seraient reçues. C'était leur prouver qu'elles pourraient venir librement. J'ai, en conséquence, écrit à Monseur le Capitaine du 53me régiment de garde à Longwood pour le prier de donner la consigne, que les personnes qui se présenteraient en visite fussent dirigées sur le parloir où je plaçais le Suisse. Mais alors j'ai appris, à mon grand étonnement, qu'il était expressément défendu de venir à Longwood rendre visite à l'Empereur ou à aucun de nous sans un passeport de vous. Se pourrait-il donc que l'on nous eut envié jusqu'à la faible consolation qui pourrait procurer la société de quelques individus comme nous relégués dans ce désert, et celle de quelques uns des habitans qui souvent nous ont témoigné le désir de nous voir? Les officiers du 53me, campés à cinq cents pas de Longwood, voulaient y venir; cette permission leur a été refusée. Vous m'avez assuré hier, Monsieur, si je l'ai bien compris, que cet ordre n'était donné que par la crainte qu'on ne vînt importuner l'Empereur; jamais cependant sa Majesté ne s'est plainte de ce genre d'importunité pendant son séjour à Briars; et cet inconvénient, s'il eût existé, était facile à éviter par des mesures de service intérieur de domesticité. La ligne d'enceinte paraît avoir été placée avec un soin particulier d'éviter d'y renfermer

des maisons de campagne, qui, par leur position, auraient offert quelques buts de promenades. La ligne d'enceinte ne comprend enfin que des rochers arides et des ravins, que l'œil ne peut contempler qu'avec horreur; la seule végétation est celle des arbres à gomme, qui ne donnent pas d'ombre. L'eau est peu abondante, et est de mauvaise qualité. Nous devions au moins espérer de n'y être pas exposé aux désagrémens que nous avions éprouvé en ville par les erreurs continuelles des consignes, mais, quelques soin qu'officiers et soldats du 53me régiment mettent à les éviter, la multiplicité et la variation continuelle des ordres qu'ils reçoivent ont été cause qu'ils n'ont pu empêcher que ces désagrémens ne se soient déjà renouvellés deux fois.

J'en appelle à vous, Monsieur, chaque jour n'apporte-t-il pas un changement à notre position, ou ne sommes-nous sujets qu'à des règles fixes? L'Empereur est mal à Longwood, et il y est vivement incommodé de l'odeur de la peinture d'huile. Le climat est ici plus désagréable que dans tout le reste de l'île; il y règne un vent continuel, et il y pleut chaque jour. On y vit au milieu des nuages, et dans un atmosphère très-humide. L'Empereur éprouve de l'altération dans sa santé, et nous souffrons tous. Nous manquons de tout, et le peu de mobilier mis à Longwood semble avoir été composé des meubles vieillis dans les antichambres, et aucun domestique Français. A son arrivée ici sa Majesté m'avait chargé d'aller acheter sur ses propres fonds les meubles et linge qui nous manquent et pourraient se trouver dans les magasins de James Town. Dès le lendemain j'appris que Monsieur Glover, votre secrétaire, avait prévenu les marchands qu'ils ne devaient rien me livrer.

On trouve dans l'enceinte qu'il nous est permis de parcourir quelques chèvres sauvages et des perdrix. Il nous était agréable de pouvoir chasser, et j'ai eu l'honneur de vous demander hier de nous rendre nos fusils de chasse, mais, si vous croyez, Monsieur, ne pouvoir accéder à ma demande qu'en nous obligeant de les rendre chaque soir au Capitaine de garde, nous préférions que vous persistiez en ce que vous avez fait en ville à cet égard au Général Gourgaud.

En résumé, Monsieur, je vous prie de vouloir bien me faire connaître votre réponse aux demandes ci-après:—

1. Que l'enceinte soit aggrandie, et que nous puissions aller librement chez Monsieur le Gouverneur à Plantation House.

2. Que tout habitant de l'île ou tout officier du 53me régiment qui voudrait venir à Longwood, le puissent librement.

3. Que le Docteur O'Meara ait, comme par le passé, la faculté de nous accompagner: la défense qu'il en a reçu ne pouvant être qu'un affront également injurieux pour lui et pour nous.

4. Qu'il nous soit permis d'aller en ville avec un officier Anglais, et qu'il soit également permis au maître-d'hôtel de la maison de l'Empereur, ou à tout autre domestique, d'aller en ville, étant accompagné d'une ordonnance, chaque fois que cela sera nécessaire, pour les approvisionnemens et les besoins de la maison.

5. L'établissement de Longwood, qui est peu sain et désagréable l'été, sera intolérable l'hiver, et je demande que nous puissions nous établir dans la partie de l'île où il y a de la verdure, des sites moins affreux, et une température plus agréable et plus saine.

J'aurais été, Monsieur, vous porter moi-même ces réclamations et ces demandes, s'il m'avait été permis d'aller en ville, comme dans les premiers jours de notre arrivée ici.

Veuillez, Monsieur, recevoir les assurances, &c.

LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

No. 26.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY BUNBURY, K.C.B., UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE.

British Hotel, Jermyn Street,
January 13, 1816.

Sir,

Under the impression that many of the arrangements respecting Napoleon Bonaparte may fall under the consideration of Parliament at the ensuing session, I have been led to consider some points which appear not as yet to be sufficiently defined by my instructions, and which may perhaps require nothing less than parliamentary authority to convey a specific instruction upon.

Firstly. The precise nature and quality of his situation is not defined; whether he is to be considered as a prisoner of war, as a state prisoner, or as a stranger voluntarily surrendering

himself to the free exercise of the authority of another Government over him, and liable in consequence to whatever rules and restrictions that Government may think fit to impose.

Secondly. The point which it next appears of most importance to attend to, whether Napoleon Bonaparte is considered a prisoner of war, a prisoner of state, an outlaw, or designated by any other capacity whatever, is the support to be given to the officer who is to be charged with his custody - a point of peculiarly delicate consideration where it seems expected that lenient regard, with a certain degree of personal liberty, is to be combined with absolute security. Even close confinement alone would not ensure absolute security, unless there are laws of the utmost rigour against persons aiding or abetting in any way his escape. A law declaring it felony in any person whatever to be engaging in such an attempt, or even to hold communication with him or with the persons of his adherents, except with the authority of Government (in the same manner as it is declared treason to hold correspondence with an enemy, in which light he might still continue to be considered), would appear to me as a necessary check, as well against treachery on the part of any persons who might be immediately near him, as against the pretensions of individuals who might otherwise consider themselves as free agents, and under no other restriction in respect to holding communication with him and his adherents than what the guards of his person and other ocular restraints might impose upon them. It is in secret the most flagrant crimes are committed, and it is not by watchings, but by penalties and punishments which await their discovery, that the commission of them is most securely guarded against. In respect to such a person as Napoleon Bonaparte, even the weakness, the ignorance, or the compassion of the persons around him, require the strongest checks which prohibitory laws can ordain to guard against their effects.

It might appear a question even worth considering, whether it might not be advisable to declare the island of St. Helena, in all questions that relate in any respect to the care and custody of Napoleon Bonaparte, in a state of martial law, and to give power for trying all offences that bear relation to him accordingly; though, following the dictates of my own opinion on the matter, I should much prefer a definite authority on all

points over that of being permitted to exercise any kind of arbitrary jurisdiction whatever, particularly such as is usually practised under the ill-defined rules of martial law.

The only case where I should feel desirous to have recourse to a military tribunal is that of an attempt being made by Napoleon Bonaparte himself, or any of his followers, to excite a mutiny on the island, or to draw off any of the soldiers or inhabitants of the island from their duty and allegiance by aiding and abetting in his escape. Whatever may be the rule laid down in respect to Napoleon Bonaparte himself, his followers must be considered as on mere sufferance. They are at perfect liberty to remain on the island or to depart, and, if they resolve on the latter [former?], they have no reason to complain of any rule or regulation that may be laid down regarding them. Their remaining is a voluntary acquiescence to [in?] whatever rule may be imposed on them.

In submitting any measures that may appear to bear the character of extraordinary rigour, I beg at the same time to express that *harshness* is by no means the principle on which I should propose to regulate my proceedings. The intentions of Government would be my guide in this as well as in all other instances; but should there be any further manifestation of that spirit which, to satisfy personal revenge, or to gratify ambition, sets the repose of the world at nought, I wish to be possessed of every *legal power* and authority that can be given to me for its repression. I have the honour, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 27.

To Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe.

Sir, Downing Street, January 18, 1816.

Upon looking over the instructions which have been addressed to you already with regard to the custody of Napoleon Buonaparte's person, it appears to me that it is only necessary to add that you are to continue to treat Napoleon Buonaparte as a prisoner of war until further orders. I have, &c.

Bathurst.

No. 28.

À l'Amiral Sir George Cockburn.

Monsieur l'Amiral, Ste. Hélène, ce 13 Mars, 1816.

J'ai l'honneur de vous renvoyer les journaux que vous nous avez prêtés jusqu'au 4 Décembre. Je vous prie de me faire connaître quand il partira un bâtiment pour l'Angleterre, et si vous pouvez vous charger d'une lettre cachetée de l'Empereur pour le Prince Régent, avec l'assurance qu'elle ne sera pas ouverte, et qu'elle sera remise dans les mains du Prince Régent ou de l'officier de sa maison chargé de recevoir ce qui est adressé à lui seul.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur l'Amiral, les sentimens, &c.

Le Cte. Bertrand.

No. 29.

À Monsieur l'Amiral Sir George Cockburn.

Monsieur l'Amiral, Ste. Hélène, ce 20 Mars, 1816.

J'ai l'honneur de recevoir votre lettre du 14 Mars, par laquelle vous vous refusez à faire passer les lettres cachetées que nous voudrions adresser à votre Souverain, ou à votre Gouvernement. Je me suis donc abstenu, lors du départ du Ceylon pour l'Europe, de vous envoyer la lettre de l'Empereur pour le Prince Régent. Il a chargé de vive voix le Capitaine Hamilton de faire connaître au Prince Régent l'étrange traitement qu'il éprouve, et qu'il aurait l'honneur de lui écrire dès qu'il passerait dans l'île quelque Anglais de distinction, qui voudrait se charger de sa lettre. Rien de ce qui est injuste, ou contraire au droit des gens et aux usages des nations policées, ne saurait, sans doute, étonner l'Empereur de la part de ceux qui ont violé, à son égard, les droits de l'hospitalité—droits sacrés parmi les barbares mêmes. Cependant, en lisant avec attention l'extrait des instructions que vous vous êtes donné la peine de m'envoyer, nous avons cru voir qu'elles n'autorisaient point votre conduite en cette circonstance. Comment concevoir, en effet, qu'un gouvernement voulut interdire le droit de lui adresser directement des plaintes, si elles étaient de nature à n'être pas vues de

celui qui, à 2000 lieues de la métropole, étant revêtu de tous les pouvoirs, pourrait se porter aux plus étranges excès. Aussi l'esprit de l'instruction, en indiquant de remettre des plaintes ouvertes, est elle tout-à-fait dans l'intérêt des plaignans, afin qu'arrivant accompagnée de vos observations, votre Gouvernement puisse y satisfaire plus promptement: cette article de vos instructions n'est donc qu'une modification en faveur de ceux qui auraient à se plaindre, bien loin de leur être contraire. Votre Gouvernement ne nous défend, ni ne peut nous défendre, de lui envoyer des lettres cachetées, lorsque ceux qui les écrivent le désirent. A plus forte raison cela ne saurait-il s'appliquer à votre Souverain. Vos instructions parlent d'ailleurs des réclamations qui pourraient être faites; mais une lettre au Prince Régent, ou à votre Gouvernement, peut contenir toute autre chose que vous ne dussiez pas connaître. Il semble donc que vous n'avez pas le droit, par la nature des choses, ni par l'esprit de vos instructions, d'intercepter la correspondance avec le Prince Régent ou vos Ministres. S'il y avait dans cet hémisphère un Général qui fut votre supérieur dans cette mission, vous n'auriez pas davantage le droit d'empêcher de recourir à lui. On pourrait se demander si une telle discussion se passe sous la loi d'une nation Européenne ou au fond de la Tartarie.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

BERTRAND.

No. 30.

The following curious letter passed through the twopenny post in London on the 29th of March, 1816:—

"TO THE MOST MIGHTY AND PUISANT NAPOLEON LE GRAND EMPRER OF FRANCE AND KING OF ITALY ST. HELENA.

"Most Prusiant Sire

"You must exert yourself to the utmost to get away before the New regulation takes place or els your situation will be Most Critical. I tald bertrand all about the Method an Sent him every thing for your use. be sircumspect and every thing will go on wull.

"God Grant you speedy release is the sinsere wish of your never failing frend "LA MEU."

Not long afterwards the annexed letter, which had passed through the post-office, at St. Helena, fell into the Governor's hands:—

"Dear Friend I advised the Emperor of his critical Situation and you must use the utmost Secrecy and eclict or all will be lost without redemption I told you before the Boat that will drift to the Back of the Island will be in the Shape of an old Cask but so constructed that by pulling at both Ends to be Sea Worthy & both Boat & Sail which will be found inside will be painted to corespond with the Colour of the Sea and when the Emperor & one More which will be requisite to transform the Boat as I said above is all ready he must bear away right before the Wind for the Ship after drifting the Boat to the Island will Meneuvre so as to get right to Leeward & display a light out of one of the Port holes for to shew it at the Mast head would endanger it to be seen by the Enemy—You may calculate the Ship distant about 14 Miles at starting from the Island & to prevent any Mistake should an Enemy's Ship appear in Sight yours will be uncommong long & low painted much the same as the Boat & sails to admiration—it will depend on Circumstances what Port in the United States his Majesty will land at but he may depend upon the most cordial & Fraternal reception—The Empress & King of Rome if possible will be there before him & a great many of his faithful subjects headed by the Marshals & Ministers M Talyrand is on the road with a vast site of Money—Men Money and Ships his Majesty will be amply supplied with for the Americans adore him as a Deity and swears if he dont make the Craw thumping Barbones scamp they will have him for an Emperor & to remedy his loss in France they will seize on all South America & never stop untill the 3 coloured & the 15 Stars united Flags shall be reared on the ramparts of Bengall after that it is proposed to invade Spain & Portugal which will be done with the utmost Expedition for the double purpose of striking terror & preventing them from collecting their Forces —For the Emperor may make sure of the French Navy when he is capable of receiving them—they only await his nod & when he once secures Spain France must surrender for both Soldiers & People longs for him & sighs for him—there is not the least Doubt but the exalted hero will have

greater Fleets & armys than ever—God preserve you in his holy keeping—La, M^x — N.B. I thought best to write this in English to take of Suspicion and prevent Detection—I believe I told you before the rope I inclosed you in the last Package for the Emperor to slide down the Brow of the Clift with when his Spy on the look out informs him of the arrival of the Boat—is a Masterly Contrivance for it is so ingeniously wrought inside (being Steel) that it will render or stretch to 4 Times the length it appears to be with a clever Graplin at one End that will spring out with the Pressure of the Thumb it cost £7—My sincere Devotion to Madam B^d Mind the least Mistake might cause the greatest Disappointment—Burn this without Delay."

No. 31.

56 Geo. III. Cap. 22.

An Act for the more effectually detaining in custody Napoleon Buonaparté.—11th April, 1816.

Whereas it is necessary for the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe, and for the general safety, that Napoleon Buonaparté should be detained and kept in custody as is hereinafter provided: Be it therefore enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to detain and keep the said Napoleon Buonaparté in the custody of such person or persons, in such place within his Majesty's dominions, and under such restrictions, during the pleasure of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, as to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall from time to time seem fit.

II. And be it further enacted, That the said Napoleon Buonaparté, being in such custody as aforesaid, shall be deemed and taken to be, and shall be treated and dealt with as a prisoner of war, except only in so far as by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall at any time, or from time to time, be otherwise directed; and that it shall and may be lawful for his

Majesty, his heirs and successors, by warrant under the hand and seal of one of his or their principal Secretaries of State, to nominate and appoint such person or persons, being his Majesty's subject or subjects, as to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall seem fit, to have the custody of the said Napoleon Buonaparté; and from time to time, by like warrant, to change the place, and to appoint such other place as to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, shall seem fit, in which the said Napoleon Buonaparté shall be detained and kept; and by like warrant to authorize and empower any person and persons to remove the said Napoleon Buonaparté from the place in which he now is, or shall at any time hereafter be so detained and kept, and to convey him to such other place as shall be so appointed as aforesaid; and that it shall and may be lawful for such person and persons so appointed or to be appointed as aforesaid, to call to his or their aid and assistance all or any persons, being subjects of his Majesty, or owing allegiance to his Majesty, for the detaining and keeping the said Napoleon Buonaparté in custody as aforesaid, or for the removing or conveying him as aforesaid, as occasion may require; and that all and every such person or persons so appointed or to be appointed as aforesaid, and all and every person and persons who shall be called to his or their aid and assistance, shall have full power and authority to use all ways and means for the detaining and keeping the said Napoleon Buonaparté in such custody, and for the prevention of the rescue or escape of the said Napoleon Buonaparté from and out of such custody, and for the retaking the said Napoleon Buonaparté in case he shall be rescued or shall escape from and out of the same, as might be lawfully used for the detaining and keeping in custody, and for preventing the rescue or escape of, and for the retaking any prisoner of war.

III. And be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, being a subject or subjects of or owing allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall rescue or attempt to rescue the said Napoleon Buonaparté, or shall knowingly and wilfully aid or assist in the escape of the said Napoleon Buonaparté, or in any attempt to escape from such custody as aforesaid, or from any limits or bounds wherein he now is or at any time hereafter shall or may be detained and kept in custody as aforesaid, or in which he shall or may be suffered to go at large

within the limits of any island or country, territory, or place, or within the limits of any district or bounds within any island or country, territory, or place, upon parole or without parole, all and every such person and persons so offending shall upon being convicted thereof be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

IV. And be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, being subjects of or owing allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall knowingly and wilfully aid, assist, or further the said Napoleon Buonaparté in quitting any part of any island, country, territory, or place, without the limits and bounds of any district of such island, country, territory, or place, within which he may have been confined or suffered to go at large, on parole or without parole, after he shall have been rescued, or have escaped or departed from any place of custody, or from the limits and bounds within which he shall have been committed to go at large, upon parole or without parole, he, she, or they shall be deemed guilty of aiding the escape of the said Napoleon Buonaparté, under the provisions of this Act.

V. And be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, being a subject or subjects of his Majesty, or owing allegiance to his Majesty, after the said Napoleon Buonaparté shall have been rescued, or have escaped or departed from and have quitted the island, country, district, or territory within which he shall have been detained and kept in custody as aforesaid, or have been suffered to go at large, upon parole or without, or after he shall have quitted and departed from any other country into which he may have escaped or come, shall knowingly and wilfully, upon the high seas, aid, assist, or further the said Napoleon Buonaparté in escaping or going to or towards any other dominions or place whatsoever, such person or persons shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy.

VI. And be it further enacted, That all offences against this Act, wheresoever the same shall be committed, whether within the dominions of his Majesty or without, or upon the high seas, may be inquired of, tried, heard, determined, and adjudged in any county within that part of his Majesty's dominions called England, in like manner, and by a jury of such county, as if such offences had been committed within such county; and

that in every information or indictment for such offence, such offence may be laid and charged to have been committed in such county.

VII. And be it further enacted, That all persons who shall be apprehended, detained, or in custody, charged with any offence against this Act, may be detained in custody and sent to England, in order to their being proceeded against and tried for such offence.

VIII. And be it further enacted, That if any action, suit, bill, plaint, information, or indictment shall be brought, sued, or prosecuted against any person or persons for anything done under or by virtue of this Act, such person or persons may plead the general issue, and shall have the advantage thereof as fully, and to all intents and purposes, as if the special matter had been fully and well pleaded, and in such manner as any justice of the peace, constable, or other officer, questioned for matters acted by them as officers, or in the execution of their offices, may have the advantage of the matter of their justification upon the general issue by them pleaded, by any of the laws and statutes of this kingdom.

No. 32.

Warrant to Sir Hudson Lowe.

On the 12th of April, 1816, the day after the foregoing Act was passed, the annexed Warrant was issued to Sir Hudson Lowe, under the authority given by that Act to the Secretary of State:—

To Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Governor of the Island of St. Helena; the Governor for the time being of St. Helena; the Commander for the time being of His Majesty's Military Forces on the Island of St. Helena; and all Magistrates, Officers, Civil, Naval, and Military, and all His Majesty's subjects whom it may concern.

Henry Earl Bathurst, Baron Bathurst and Apsley, a Member of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, &c. &c.

By virtue of and in pursuance of the powers given to me by an Act passed in the fifty-sixth year of his Majesty's reign, entitled "An Act for the more effectually detaining in custody

Napoleon Buonaparté," I do hereby nominate and appoint you, Sir Hudson Lowe, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's army in St. Helena, and Governor of the said island of St. Helena; or the Governor for the time being of the said island; or, in case of the death or absence of you, the said Sir Hudson Lowe, or of the death or absence of the Governor for the time being of the said island, the Commander for the time being of his Majesty's forces in the said island, to have the custody of the said Napoleon Buonaparte in the said island; and do hereby authorize, empower, and require you, and each of you, as aforesaid, safely to detain and keep the said Napoleon Buonaparte as a prisoner of war in the said island, during his Majesty's pleasure, and to treat and deal with him as a prisoner of war, under such restrictions and in such manner as have been or shall from time to time be signified to you in that behalf by his Majesty, under the hand of one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

No. 33.

À M. le Lieut.-Général Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, ce 21 Avril, 1816.

En vous adressant la déclaration que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me demander, permettez que je vous expose la situation où je me trouve.

Lorsqu'à notre arrivée sur les côtes d'Angleterre le bruit se répandit que l'Empereur devait être envoyé à Ste. Hélène, je lui dis que je le suivrais là comme à l'île d'Elbe, mais que je désirais, après un an de séjour, pouvoir revenir en Europe, où m'appelaient indispensablement des affaires de famille.

Lord Keith et Sir Henry Bunbury, Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat, furent chargés de nous faire connaître les intentions du Gouvernement. Le premier me répéta plusieurs fois que la permission de revenir en Europe me serait accordée ainsi que je le demandais, et que cela n'éprouverait aucune difficulté. Sir Henry Bunbury dit à ma femme qu'il n'y avait nul inconvénient à ce que je fusse passer un an ou deux à Ste. Hélène, que je pourrais toujours en revenir; qu'au reste, quelque parti que je

prisse, je serais, soit alors, soit à mon retour, reçu en Angleterre. J'en appelle à l'honneur de Lord Keith et de Sir H. Bunbury de la vérité de ce que j'avance.

J'écrivis à Lord Keith que mon intention, en suivant l'Empereur à Ste. Hélène, était de revenir en Europe au bout d'une année, et je le priai de faire parvenir mon vœu à son Gouvernement. Je désire remplir ma promesse; un engagement est d'autant plus sacré que celui envers lequel il est pris peut moins en exiger l'accomplissement. J'espère donc que le Gouvernement Britannique me permettra de remplir le mien, et ne démentira point les assurances qui m'ont été données par les personnes chargées de nous faire connaître ses intentions.

L'éducation de mes enfans, les arrangemens à prendre pour leur fortune—arrangemens qu'un proscrit ne peut faire dans un pays où il ne lui est permis d'écrire que des lettres ouvertes—ne me permettent pas de prendre un engagement dont je ne connaîtrais pas l'étendue.

D'après les assurances qui ont été données par Lord Keith et Sir H. Bunbury, et conformément aux engagemens que j'ai pris, je persiste dans le désir que j'ai déjà manifesté par écrit au Gouvernement Britannique de rester une année à Ste. Hélène, c'est-à-dire jusqu'au mois d'Octobre prochain, et je me soumettrai pendant le temps aux restrictions imposées à l'Empereur Napoléon.

J'ose espérer, Général, que vous ne verrez pas d'inconvénient à ce que je prolonge mon séjour ici jusqu'au mois d'Octobre. Je ne m'éloignerai point sans un vif regret. Depuis long-temps attaché à l'Empereur, rempli d'admiration pour ses rares et hautes qualités, de reconnaissance pour ses bienfaits, mon désir a toujours été de consacrer le reste de ma vie à remplir mes devoirs envers lui et ma famille. Je solliciterai du Gouvernement Britannique, comme la faveur à laquelle j'attache le plus haut prix, l'honneur de revenir à Ste. Hélène porter quelques consolations à celui qu'une si grande infortune accable aujourd'hui, et qui m'honora au temps de sa prospérité de ses bienfaits et de son estime.

Veuillez agréer les sentimens de haute considération avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur le Lieutenant-Général, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

LE CTE. BERTRAND.

No. 34.

À M. le Lieut.-Général Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, ce 22 Avril, 1816.

J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire sous la date du 21.

Je vous ai exposé les motifs de la déclaration qu'en quittant l'Europe j'ai faite à votre Gouvernement par écrit, et que j'ai réitérée dans ma lettre d'hier.

Les circonstances impérieuses où je me trouve ne me permettent pas de prendre un autre engagement que celui que j'ai contracté, et dans lequel je persiste; bien moins encore un engagement qui n'est pas déterminé, lorsqu'on ne sait à quoi il oblige.

Vous voulez bien, Général, m'offrir un passage pour le Cap, mais, ainsi que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous l'annoncer, j'ai pris l'engagement de rester ici une année: il n'est pas en mon pouvoir de le rompre. Je ne puis donc partir avant le mois d'Octobre prochain, ni rester après cette époque.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur le Gouverneur, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

Le Cte. Bertrand.

No. 35.

Le Ministre Plénipotentiaire de sa Majesté le Roi d'Espagne près des Etats Unis d'Amérique a donné avis qu'un Américain nommé Carpenter, a offert à Joseph Bonaparte de faire évader Napoléon de l'île Ste. Hélène. Le même Ministre avertit que le bâtiment pour cet objet était déjà parti, suivant les avis qu'il avait pu avoir à ce sujet.

Madrid, ce 9 Mai, 1816.

I.

L'on trompe votre Gouvernement. Napoléon a déjà gagné une personne à Ste. Hélène. Si vous êtes bon Anglais profitez de cet avis, qui vous vient d'un vrai compatriote, et avertissez le Gouvernement qu'il se tienne sur ses gardes.

II.

Confirmation entière. On ne peut pas donner des détails, mais les faits existent. Les yeux bien ouverts. Epiez jusqu'aux moindres démarches, et ôtez certains moyens puissants, qui toujours finissent par corrompre (l'or.)—Brulez ceci.

No. 36.

Le Comte Bertrand a l'honneur d'offrir ses complimens à Monsieur le Général Sir Hudson Lowe, et de le remercier de la peine qu'il a voulu prendre de l'informer que la Comtesse Loudon était arrivée dans cette île. Il sera heureux de lui faire sa cour. Le Comte Bertrand a communiqué le billet de Sir Hudson à l'Empereur, qui n'a fait aucune réponse.

Longwood, ce 12 Mai, 1816.

No. 37.

À M. le Lieut.-Général Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, ce 14 Juin, 1816.

Vous m'avez offert deux fusils de chasse et plusieurs objets pour la toilette de l'Empereur. Je vous prie d'en agréer mes remercimens, mais les fusils de chasse ne sauraient être d'aucune utilité à l'Empereur, puisque les parties de l'île où l'on peut chasser sont hors de l'enceinte de Longwood. Depuis l'état actuel de la garderobe de l'Empereur, il est pourvu, et n'a absolument besoin de rien. J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

Le Comte Bertrand.

No. 38.

À M. le Lieut.-Général Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, ce 2 Juillet, 1816.

J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire en date d'hier. M. de Montchenu étant parti, dans le courant de Mars, de Paris, et ayant vu la famille de Madame Bertrand,

elle désirait avoir des nouvelles, surtout de sa mère, qui est depuis long-tems malade: elle a donc écrit un billet à M. Montchenu pour le prier de venir à Hutsgate lui donner de ses nouvelles, sa santé ne lui permettant pas d'aller en ville. Ma femme voulait depuis plusieurs jours écrire ce billet, lorsque, l'hôte de M. Montchenu étant venu la voir, elle a profité de lui écrire.

Vous dites, Monsieur le Gouverneur, qu'il nous est défendu de recevoir et d'écrire des lettres qui n'aient pas passé par votre canal: cela nous a été signifié et ponctuellement exécuté, mais pour les lettres venant ou allant hors de l'île. Nous avons cédé au besoin de recevoir et de donner de nos nouvelles à nos familles. Mais en remettant l'autre jour la première lettre ouverte que vous m'avez adressé pour l'Empereur, il a senti vivement ce manque d'égards, et, comme il s'était privé d'écrire aucunes lettres pour ne point les remettre décachetées, j'ai ordre de n'en plus recevoir aucune ouverte pour lui. S'il en arrive, vous êtes le maître de les brûler.

Depuis neuf mois que nous sommes ici, nous avons reçu et écrit constamment des billets dans l'intérieur de l'île, à la connaissance de M. l'Amiral, votre prédécesseur; et même à la vôtre depuis que vous êtes ici. Mes communications, et celles des officiers généraux qui sont à Longwood, ont été jusqu'à cette heure continuelles, et la plupart du temps nos lettres ont été portées ou nous sont remises par des ordonnances à pied ou à cheval, ou par des officiers, selon les occasions. L'ancien Gouverneur et sa femme, le Sous-Gouverneur et sa femme, le Général Bingham, le Capitaine du Northumberland, et les officiers de Marine, enfin tous les officiers et personnes de ce pays, nous en ont écrit et en ont reçu.

Si nous devons être considérés comme prisonniers de guerre, il est contre le droit que des officiers ou leurs femmes ne puissent recevoir ou écrire des billets aux habitans de la ville où ils peuvent se promener. Ce serait une vexation sans aucun but; car puisque nous pouvons aller en ville, dans les parties de l'enceinte, au camp, il est d'une conséquence naturelle qu'on peut se parler et s'écrire. Il n'a pu être dans l'intention du Gouvernement Britannique qu'on ne pût écrire des billets de société aux personnes auxquelles on peut parler; la nature des choses ne le comporte pas. S'il eût voulu arriver à ce résultat, au lieu de nous déclarer prisonniers de guerre, il nous eût de sa

propre autorité déclarés criminels et mis au secret. Nous ne nous soumettrons point à cette nouvelle vexation, et aucun de nous n'écrira aux habitans de l'île, en assujettissant ses lettres à votre visa. Si vous persistez dans cette étrange résolution, vous aurez rendu notre situation encore plus malheureuse.

Si les observations que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'envoyer portent sur ce que cette lettre était adressé à un étranger venant de Paris, et que nous ne puissions communiquer avec M. de Montchenu, il fallait nous en prévenir.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, depuis que vous êtes arrivé, je dois vous le dire, vous avez rendu la position de l'Empereur beaucoup plus affreuse.

Vous parlez dans votre lettre de communications verbales. Cela ne se comprend pas, si cela s'applique aux personnes de l'île, à qui on doit pouvoir parler, puisqu'on les voit et qu'on les rencontre ; mais l'ame et la pensée sont au-dessus du pouvoir et de l'injustice.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur le Gouverneur, votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

LE CTE. BERTRAND.

No. 39.

À SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Gouverneur, Longwood, 8 Juillet, 1816.

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir votre lettre. L'Empereur ayant été tourmenté la nuit dernière par des douleurs de rhumatisme, je n'ai pu la lui communiquer qu'hier soir. Il m'a dit (ce sont ses propre paroles) :—

"Cette lettre est écrite avec l'intention d'être aimable. Elle contraste avec les ignobles vexations qu'on imagine chaque jour—cela ne s'accorde pas avec la conversation que j'ai eu avec Sir Lowe, et dont il est question dans cette lettre. . . Il ne me reste de cette conversation qu'un souvenir pénible et quelque chose de sinistre. . . Cette île est fort contraire à ma santé, c'est le pays le plus humide de la terre. . . On se fait une étude de m'en rendre le séjour encore plus malsain et plus affreux."

J'ai cru, Monsieur le Gouverneur, répondre à la confiance que vouz avez bien voulu me témoigner dans cette occasion, en

ne vous déguisant pas la manière dont l'Empereur est affecté. Il n'attache qu'un intérêt fort secondaire à toute question de logement, d'ameublement, et à tout objet de cette espèce. Avec les meilleures intentions, votre Gouvernement ne peut pas faire que sur ce rocher on ne continue à éprouver la privation des objets de première nécessité.

Longwood est la partie la plus malsaine de l'île. Il n'y a pas d'eau, point de végétation, point d'ombre; on n'a jamais pu parvenir à y établir un potager; la terre est brûlée par le vent; aussi cette partie de l'île est-elle inhabitée et sauvage. Si on eut établi l'Empereur à Plantation House, où il y a de très beaux arbres, de l'eau, et de jardins, il y eut été aussi bien que le pouvait permettre ce misérable pays. S'il est dans vos instructions de bâtir, il serait préférable que ce fût dans la partie cultivée de l'île, et dans un lieu où il y ait des arbres, de l'eau, et de végétation. L'idée d'ajouter des aîles au mauvais bâtiment de Longwood aurait toutes espèces d'inconvéniens; ce serait augmenter une masure, et donner, pendant cinq ou six mois, toute l'incommodité des ouvriers. On ne désire à Longwood que des travaux de réparation; il pleut depuis deux mois dans les chambres du Baron de Gourgaud et du Comte de Las Cases, ce qui rend ce logement très-malsain. Il faudrait un réservoir d'eau pour pourvoir aux incendies; la plus grande partie des toitures est en papier goudronné; une seule étincelle embraserait la maison. Une grande quantité de linge et d'effets ont été mis hors de service par les rats, et ce par le défaut d'armoires; les livres apportés par le Newcastle sont, depuis quinze jours, exposés aux mêmes dégâts par le manque de bibliothèque ou de plancher pour les placer. Le moyen le plus simple de pourvoir à tous les petits besoins serait, il me semble, de charger un maître ouvrier du soin de faire les réparations aussitôt qu'elles sont nécessaires, et un tapissier de la fourniture et de l'entretien du mobilier. En mettant les magasins à leur disposition, des gens du métier sont les plus aptes à pourvoir à tous les détails.

Veuillez recevoir, Monsieur le Gouverneur, l'assurance de la haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être, de votre Excellence, le très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

LE GÉNÉRAL DE MONTHOLON.

No. 40.

À Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Général, Longwood, 28 Août, 1816.

Toutes personnes domiciliées dans l'île, hommes, femmes, enfans, pouvaient passer la barrière de Longwood avec un billet du Comte Bertrand; les étrangers, lorsqu'ils avaient été chez le Comte Bertrand pour demander à être présentés à l'Empereur, pouvaient également entrer à Longwood avec ces passes. Dans cet état de choses, l'Empereur était maître de voir qui lui convenait, et quand il le voulait, sans que personne y intervînt. Cet état de choses avait été établi par votre prédécesseur d'accord et après s'être concerté avec nous; il a duré ainsi pendant neuf mois, et jusqu'à ce que vous l'ayez changé sans même nous en prévenir. Maintenant aucun habitant ne passe la barrière de Longwood sans une permission de vous. Vous avez annullé les passes du Comte Bertrand, de sorte que, si l'Empereur désire voir un individu, il ne le peut plus, puisqu'il faudrait que cet individu en sollicitât de vous la permission aussi souvent qu'il serait appelé à Longwood. Si un étranger est présenté à l'Empereur, qu'il reste huit ou dix jours dans ce pays, et que l'Empereur veuille le voir plusieurs fois, il faut que cet étranger aille vous demander une permission. Le résultat de cette mesure a été ce qu'il devait être; il y a une interruption absolue de toute société entre nous et les habitans. Cette mesure de votre part a entièrement dénaturé et changé notre position. L'arrangement qui avait été fait par votre prédécesseur après avoir été longuement discuté, avait été approuvé. Dans les prisons criminelles d'Angleterre et de France, les prisonniers reçoivent librement toutes espèces de visites; ce n'est que lorsque, par des cas déterminés par la loi, ils sont au secret, que l'on ne peut les voir qu'avec des passes spéciales: vous nous avez donc, de votre propre autorité, par une mesure contraire à tous droits, à tous usages, à toutes convenances, mis de fait au secret. Dans le cas, Monsieur, où vous persisteriez dans le système que vous avez adopté, ce qui est pour nous l'équivalent de nous avoir placés sur un rocher absolument désert, je vous prie de ne donner aucune passe pour entrer à Longwood, soit

aux personnes domiciliées dans l'île, soit aux officiers, soit aux étrangers—si ce n'est aux ouvriers, fournisseurs, et gens utiles au service ; car, dans ce cas, l'Empereur proteste et ne veut voir aucune des personnes qui ne peuvent entrer à Longwood qu'avec vos passeports, et cependant ils autorisent les individus qui en sont porteurs à rôder autour de la maison de Longwood, ce qui gêne l'Empereur dans sa promenade sans aucune utilité pour personne. J'ai l'honneur d'être,

LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

No. 41.

À SIR HUDSON LOWE.

Monsieur le Général, Longwood, ce 9 Septembre, 1816.

J'ai reçu vos deux lettres du 30 Août ;[1] il en est une que je n'ai pas communiquée. Le Comte Bertrand et moi avons eu l'honneur de vous dire plusieurs fois que nous ne pouvions nous charger de rien de ce qui serait contraire à l'auguste caractère de l'Empereur. Vous savez mieux que personne, Monsieur, combien de lettres ont été envoyées de l'office des postes à Plantation House ; vous avez oublié que, sur la représentation que nous vous en avons faite plusieurs fois, vous avez répondu que vos instructions vous obligeaient à ne rien laisser arriver à Longwood, soit lettre, soit livre, soit imprimé, si ces objets n'étaient passés par la filière de votre Gouvernement. Un Lieutenant du Newcastle ayant été porteur d'une lettre pour le Comte de Las Cases, vous l'avez gardée ; mais cet officier ayant cru sa délicatesse compromise, vous avez alors remis la lettre trente jours après qu'elle était arrivée dans cette île, &c. Nous sommes sûrs que nos familles et nos amis nous écrivent souvent ; jusqu'à cette heure nous n'avons reçu que peu de leurs lettres. Mais c'est en vertu du même principe que vous désavouez aujourd'hui que vous avez retenu les livres et les imprimés qui nous ont été adressés, et cependant vous les gardez.

---

[1] One of these letters was dated the 29th of August.

Votre deuxième lettre du 30 Août ne répond pas, Monsieur, à celle que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire, pour réclamer contre les changemens que vous avez opérés dans le courant d'Août, et qui bouleversent toutes les bases de notre établissement dans ce pays.

1. "There is no part of my written instructions more definite, or to which my attention is more pointedly called, than that *no person whatever* should hold any communication with (l'Empereur) except through my *agency*." Vous donnez à vos instructions une interprétation jésuitique; il n'y a rien là qui justifie ni qui autorise votre conduite. Ces instructions, votre prédécesseur les avait—vous les aviez pendant les trois mois avant les changemens que vous avez opérés il y a un mois—enfin il ne vous était pas difficile de concilier vos divers devoirs.

2. "I have already acquainted (l'Empereur) personally of this."

3. "In addressing all strangers and other persons, except those whose duty might lead them to Longwood, in the first instance to Count Bertrand (or asking him myself), to ascertain whether (l'Empereur) would receive their visit, and in not giving passes except to such persons as had ascertained this point or were directed to do it, I conceive," &c.

4. "It is not, Sir, in my power to extend such a privilege as you require to Count Bertrand."

Je suis obligé de vous déclarer, Monsieur—1, vous n'avez rien communiqué à l'Empereur; 2, depuis plus de deux mois vous n'avez eu aucune communication avec le Comte Bertrand; 3, nous ne vous demandons aucun privilège pour le Comte Bertrand, puisque je ne demande que la continuation des choses telles qu'elles ont été pendant neuf mois.

5. "I regret to learn that (l'Empereur) has been incommoded with the visits," &c. Voilà de l'ironie, elle est amère!

Au lieu de chercher à concilier vos divers devoirs, vous paraissez, Monsieur, résolu à persister dans un système de continuelle vexation—cela fera-t-il honneur à votre caractère?—cela méritera-t-il l'approbation de votre Gouvernement, de votre nation? —permettez-moi d'en douter.

Plusieurs officiers généraux arrivés sur le Cornwallis ont désiré être présentés à Longwood; si vous les aviez adressés chez le Comte Bertrand, comme vous lui avez adressé jusqu'ici tous les étrangers qui se sont présentés dans cette île, ils auraient été reçus. Vous avez, sans doute, vos raisons pour empêcher des personnes de quelque considération de venir à Longwood; alléguez, si vous le voulez, comme vous le faites ordinairement, la teneur de vos instructions, mais ne dénaturez pas les intentions de l'Empereur.

Le jeune Las Cases et le Capitaine Piontkowski ont été hier en ville; un Lieutenant Anglais les a accompagnés jusqu'en ville, où, conformément aux ordres existant jusqu'à ce jour, il les a laissés libres d'aller voir les personnes qu'ils désiraient. Pendant que le jeune Las Cases causait avec de jeunes demoiselles, l'officier est venu, et, extrêmement peiné d'être chargé d'une aussi désagréable commission, lui a déclaré que vous lui ordonniez de ne pas le perdre de vu: ceci est contraire à ce qui s'est passé jusqu'à présent—il serait, je pense, convenable que vous nous fissiez connaître les changemens que vous opérez. C'est nous interdire tout voyage en ville, et, par là, violer ouvertement vos instructions. Cependant vous savez qu'à peine une des personnes de Longwood va-t-elle à la ville une fois par mois, et il n'y a eu aucune circonstance qui puisse vous autoriser à changer l'ordre établi. C'est pousser bien loin la persécution.

En réponse à votre lettre du 8 Septembre, je me réfère, Monsieur, au post-scriptum de ma lettre du 23 Août. L'Empereur est malade par l'effet du mauvais climat et des privations de toutes espèces, et je n'ai point porté à sa connaissance tous les détails fastidieux dont on m'a entretenu de votre part—tout cela dure depuis deux mois, et devrait être terminé depuis longtemps, puisque le post-scriptum de ma lettre du 23 Août est précis: il serait temps enfin que cela finit, mais il paraît que c'est un texte pour nous insulter.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

LE GÉNÉRAL COMTE DE MONTHOLON.

No. 42.

To General Count Montholon.

Sir, Plantation House, September 11, 1816.

Having communicated in my letter of the 30th of August that I could receive no letters that related to General Bonaparte's affairs, except it was distinctly stated in them that they were written by his direction, and the accompanying not being expressed to be thus written, I beg leave to return it. I enclose at the same time, for the information in general of the officers of General Bonaparte's establishment, whom he might wish to render an instrument for the conveyance of any further injurious reflections (the letter you sent to me of the 24th of August having, as you informed Major Gorrequer, been written by his express directions, of which it otherwise bore sufficient internal evidence), an extract of the letter I addressed to Count Bertrand on the 4th of July, and also of one of the 1st of July, the latter of which I beg you in particular to communicate to Count Las Cases, who has in more than one instance violated the rules contained in it.

I have, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 43.

À Sir Hudson Lowe.

Monsieur le Général, Longwood, ce 11 Septembre, 1816.

Je reçois la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire en date de ce jour. Vous me faites connaître que vous ne voulez plus correspondre avec moi ; je vous renvoie en conséquence les deux lettres que vous me communiquez ; je n'en ai fait aucun usage.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

Le Général Comte de Montholon.

No. 44.

To General Count Montholon.

Sir, Plantation House, September 12, 1816.

Neither my letter of yesterday, nor its enclosures, I beg to observe, contained any prohibition of correspondence on the part of the officers of General Bonaparte's establishment, either regarding his affairs, when expressed to be written by his authority, or in regard to their own. Proper representations, on the contrary, when unmixed with injurious reflections either on myself or the Government whose instructions I execute, will be always attended to.

I still require an explanation on the subject referred to in my letter of the 30th of August—proofs of the circumstance, or the implied avowal that the accusation has been groundless and injurious. I have never laid claim to any merit for sending the officers of General Bonaparte's establishment any letters that arrived from their families, whether they came by private hands or otherwise; but having gone beyond the letter of my instructions on this point, and even received their acknowledgment for it, I am at a loss to understand the nature of the feeling which could have dictated an accusation against me on such grounds; and desire General Bonaparte himself may know, and as I trust will disavow, the conduct of any officer of his suite who may have led him by misrepresentation to direct such an unfounded reproach against me—in a document, besides, written for publicity, and the contents of which Count Las Cases has, upon General Bonaparte's authority or otherwise, been already so active in his endeavours to propagate. I have, &c.

H. Lowe.

No. 45.

HEADS OF SOME PROPOSED ALTERATIONS IN THE REGULATIONS HITHERTO ESTABLISHED FOR THE PERSONS UNDER CHARGE AT LONGWOOD, OCTOBER 9, 1816.

A. Longwood, with the road along the ridge by Hutt's Gate to the signal-gun near the Alarm-House, will be established as the limits. Sentries will designate the external boundary as well as that beyond which no person can approach Longwood House and garden without the Governor's permission.

REMARKS, AS APPROVED BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, ON THE ALTERED REGULATIONS.

A. 1. Par les premiers réglemens qui ont formé notre établissement dans ce pays, et qu'a approuvé le Gouvernement Anglais, on arrivait à Longwood de la manière suivante: le Gouverneur, l'Amiral, le Colonel commandant le camp, les deux Membres du Conseil de la Compagnie, et le Secrétaire-Général, qui sont les trois principales maisons du pays, pouvaient passer le corps de garde sans aucune passe ni autorisation quelconque.

Les habitans avaient besoin d'une passe du Gouverneur, les marins de l'Amiral, les officiers de leur Colonel; et enfin les habitans, les marins, et les officiers pouvaient y entrer également avec une passe du Comte Bertrand, lorsqu'ils y étaient appelés par l'Empereur. Cet arrangement, qui a eu lieu pendant huit mois, a été sans inconvénient; mais, par les présentes dispositions, qui sont en exécution depuis le mois d'Août, mais qu'on ne nous a communiqué que par le réglement, nous sommes au secret, sans aucune société ni communication avec les habitans, et depuis le mois d'Août jusqu'aujourd'hui, fin de Décembre, nous n'avons pas reçu une seule visite,

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S OBSERVATIONS IN REPLY, IN THE ORIGINAL FRENCH.[1]

A. 1. Aucun réglement local n'a été approuvé comme permanent par le Gouvernement Anglais avant l'arrivée du Gouverneur à Ste. Hélène.

Il était libre de régler tout suivant ses instructions. Il a très-peu changé cependant, jusqu'à ce qu'il s'apperçût que des personnes obtenaient admission à Longwood moyennant les passes du Comte Bertrand, sans qu'il en eût la moindre connaissance.

Il devint nécessaire de rendre le réglement plus strict à cet égard; en quoi il agissait en parfaite conformité des instructions de son Gouvernement.

Au reste, l'Amiral, les Membres du Conseil, le Secrétaire du Gouvernement, les officiers de mer et de terre, avec l'autorisation de leurs chefs, les habitans et les étrangers avec la permission du Gouverneur, ont été toujours parfaitement libres d'aller à Longwood, jusqu'à ce que le Comte Montholon eût écrit une lettre au Gouverneur, en date du 28 Août, protestant contre l'admission à Longwood d'aucune personne venant avec une de ses passes.

si ce n'est celle de l'Amiral à son retour du Cap. Les habitans, les officiers de mer et de terre, répugnent également à se transporter chez le Gouverneur pour demander une permission de se rendre à Longwood, et être obligés de soutenir une enquête pour expliquer ce qu'on y va faire.

2. Les étrangers, soit officiers ou employés, venant des Indes, et débarqués dans ce pays, et qui voulaient voir l'Empereur, se présentaient chez le Comte Bertrand, qui leur faisait connaître le jour et l'heure. Pendant le temps qu'ils demeuraient dans l'île ils étaient assimilés aux citoyens domiciliés, et pouvaient, avec la passe du Comte Bertrand, autant qu'ils le voulaient, faire société avec Longwood. Tout ceci s'est pratiqué sans inconvénient pendant huit mois. S'il arrivait quelque étranger suspect au Gouverneur, il pouvait lui interdire d'abord de débarquer, ensuite de passer les premiers postes. Enfin le Gouverneur avait tous les jours, par l'état du corps de garde, les noms des personnes qui étaient venues à Longwood.

3. Mais depuis, lorsque tout cela fut changé à l'époque du mois d'Août, le Gouverneur prétendit nous imposer l'obligation de recevoir les étrangers qu'il favoriserait et le jour que cela lui conviendrait; c'était le comble de l'outrage. L'Empereur fit déclarer que,

La réponse que le Gouverneur a écrite au Comte de Montholon, en date du 29 Août (prise à la lettre, et non dans un sens ironique, comme on lui a supposé), explique parfaitement le principe sur lequel le Gouverneur a été disposé de faire régler la manière d'être présenté à Longwood; soit les personnes domiciliées dans l'île, soit les étrangers qui y arrivaient: il n'a rien à y ajouter.

2. Actuellement que le Comte Bertrand demeure dans l'enceinte de Longwood, on peut s'entendre sans difficulté sur ce point.

Toute personne peut lui être en premier lieu dirigée, ou il lui peut être remis une liste des étrangers qui arrivent; et le Comte Bertrand, par le moyen de l'officier d'ordonnance, pourrait les avertir lorsqu'on serait disposé à les recevoir.

3. On a été mal-informé; le Gouverneur n'a jamais imposé l'obligation de recevoir les étrangers qu'il voulait favoriser. Il n'a jamais fixé le jour quand cela lui conviendrait. C'est au Comte Bertrand ou au Comte Montholon qu'il a toujours adressé

1 These Observations were communicated to Napoleon in a letter from Sir Hudson Lowe to Count Bertrand, dated 14th March, 1817.

HEADS OF PROPOSED ALTERATIONS, &c.—*continued.*

B. The road to the left of Hutt's Gate and returning by Woody Ridge to Longwood never having been frequented by General Bonaparte since the Governor's arrival, the posts which observed it will be withdrawn for the greater part. Should he, however, wish at any time to ride in that direction, by giving the orderly officer timely notice of it he will meet with no impediment.[1]

REMARKS, AS APPROVED BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE—*continued.*

si l'on ne rétablissait pas les choses comme elles étaient, il ne voulait voir aucun étranger, et priait qu'on lui laissât au moins la tranquillité du tombeau.

B. 1. Par cette limitation l'enceinte se trouve réduite de trois quarts : c'est un étrange raisonnement que de vouloir s'autoriser de ce que l'Empereur n'a pas depuis six mois fréquenté la vallée. Mais depuis six mois l'Empereur, constamment tourmenté par les vexations du nouveau Commandant, n'est presque pas sorti ; d'ailleurs une partie de la vallée n'est point praticable dans la saison des pluies—elle ne commence à le devenir que dans le mois de Janvier. Dans l'autre partie de la vallée on avait placé un camp. La réserve, que l'on pourra se promener dans cette vallée en prévenant, est évidemment illusoire ; les détails d'exécution rendent cela impossible—on ne pouvait pas tenir, et on n'a pas tenu, la promesse.

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S OBSERVATIONS IN REPLY—*continued.*

ceux qui désiraient être présentés à Longwood ; le reste a dépendu d'eux.

Les officiers de terre et de mer, et des personnes de grade civil, qui arrivaient à Ste. Hélène, ont été toujours libres d'aller chez le Comte Bertrand, pour demander à être présentés à Longwood. Récemment des personnes qui avaient droit, par leur rang et leur emploi, d'être présentées partout, et leurs dames, qui se sont adressées au Comte Bertrand et au Comte Montholon avec tous les égards possibles pour savoir si on daignerait les recevoir, n'ont pas même eu l'honneur d'une réponse.

B. 1. Il ne s'y trouve aucun obstacle réel, mais néanmoins, pour lever tout ce qui aurait pu être considéré comme une restriction morale, le Gouverneur ne s'attache pas à ce que le Général Bonaparte ou ses officiers soient tenus de faire connaître d'avance leur intention de se servir de ce chemin. On est invité cependant de se borner à la route principale ;[2] car le Gouverneur, par suite de ses instructions, doit se réserver sur ce point. La route sera reparée.

C. If he is desirous of extending his ride in any other direction, an officer of the Governor's personal staff will always (on being informed in sufficient time) be prepared to attend him; and should time not admit, the orderly officer at Longwood.

The officer who attends him will be instructed not to approach towards him, unless so requested, nor to interfere in any respect with him during his ride, except so far as duty may require on observing any departure from the established rules, when he will ride up and respectfully inform him of it.

D. The regulations already in force for preventing communication with any persons without the Governor's permission will be required to be strictly adhered to. It is requested, therefore, that General Bonaparte will abstain from entering any houses, or engaging in conversation with persons he may meet, except so far as the ordinary salutations of politeness, with which every one will be instructed to treat him, may

2. Dans le reste de l'enceinte on a placé des sentinelles; par des mal-entendus de consigne ou autrement, on est exposé à être arrêté, comme cela est arrivé plusieurs fois aux officiers Français; par là on a réduit l'Empereur à ne pas sortir de sa chambre.

C. Ceci est inutile; depuis que l'Empereur est à Ste. Hélène il n'est point sorti de l'enceinte une seule fois, et il ne sortira pas davantage, tant qu'on voudra le soumettre à une inspection directe et publique.

D. Jusqu'ici on s'était abstenu de ce dernier période de l'outrage: l'Empereur ne tient compte et méprise les menaces. Il ne reconnaît ni au Gouvernement Anglais ni à ses agens le droit de lui rien imposer. Il conférera avec les personnes qu'il rencontrera, à moins qu'une force armée ne soit là présente pour s'y opposer. Mais quel est le but de cet article? Il n'y a point de maison dans l'enceinte; on ne peut, donc, entrer dans aucune.

2. Les sentinelles ont été retirées des endroits où leur présence a pu déplaire, et placées dans des situations où l'on n'est pas dans aucune nécessité de les rencontrer.

C. Le Gouverneur lui-même désirerait rendre les moins possible directes et publiques les restrictions ordonnées, mais aussi n'entend-il point l'effectuer par un système d'espionage, qui ne s'accorde ni avec l'esprit de ses instructions ni avec ses propres idées. Tous sauront les restrictions qui sont établies et seront toujours prévenus des moyens de se les rendres les moins sensibles. Si on avait fait autrement, le Gouverneur est bien persuadé que cela ne lui aurait attiré que des reproches d'un autre genre.

D. 1. Si on avait bien voulu envisager cet article dans son vrai sens, on aurait vu que son objet était d'empêcher une chose si désagréable que l'intervention d'une force armée.

Les instructions du Gouverneur sont que le Général Bonaparte doit être constamment accompagné d'un officier Anglais.

Une certaine étendue cependant lui a été accordée, sans être suivi de personne. Pour ne pas perdre vue entièrement d'un des objets

1 "The limits were thus never restricted for Bonaparte himself, and even the restraint here conceived was removed."—*Additional Remark by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

2 "This road was afterwards opened, so that Bonaparte could traverse the country in every direction."—*Ibid.*

HEADS OF PROPOSED ALTERATIONS, &c.—*continued.*

appear to require, *unless in the presence of a British officer.*[1]

REMARKS, AS APPROVED BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE—*continued.*

Il n'entre aucun étranger dans l'enceinte qu'avec la permission du Gouverneur; on ne peut, donc, causer avec personne.

2. L'Empereur a dit au Commandant de ce pays, "Mon âme est libre et indépendante comme lorsque j'étais à la tête de 300,000 hommes; l'injustice et la force peuvent maltraiter mon corps, mais la réprobation de tous les peuples et celle de la posterité me vengeront."

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S OBSERVATIONS IN REPLY—*continued.*

des instructions à cet égard, il a été prié seulement de ne pas s'engager dans des conversations prolongées avec les personnes qu'il pourrait rencontrer, excepté en présence d'un officier Anglais. Il était facile au Gouverneur d'interdire la communication aux personnes qu'il pouvait rencontrer ou de barrer entièrement aux habitans et étrangers le chemin à Longwood. Il a cru qu'il aurait été moins désagréable de s'en rapporter aux personnes elles-mêmes; mais comme il a été si mal saisi à cet égard, le Gouverneur n'a pas hésité, quant aux limites actuelles, de retrancher la dernière partie d'un article qui a tant blessé. Il n'en est pourtant pas moins persuadé que c'était le meilleur moyen de donner suite, tant dedans que dehors les limites, aux réglemens cités dans la première partie, en éloignant ainsi toute nécessité d'interposition officielle, soit avec le Général Bonaparte ou les officiers qui l'ont accompagné à Ste. Hélène.

2. Le Gouverneur a été disposé à montrer tout autant d'attention au Général Bonaparte dans sa situation actuelle qu'à la tête d'une armée de 300,000 hommes. Si les réglemens ne sont point communiqués, on se plaint alors qu'on peut tomber en erreur en les ignorant; on demande à les savoir, et on se trouve offensé par leur communication. Si on veut les rendre moins directs et publics en s'en

E. Persons who, with General Bonaparte's acquiescence, may at any time receive passes from the Governor to visit him, cannot use such passes to communicate with the other persons of his family, unless it is so specifically expressed in them.

F. At sunset the garden enclosure round Longwood House will be regarded as the limits. Sentries will be placed round it at that hour, but will be posted in such a manner as not to incommode General Bonaparte with their personal observation of him, should he continue his walks in the garden after that time. They will be drawn round the house as heretofore during the night, and the limits will remain closed until the sentries are withdrawn entirely from the house and garden in the morning.

E. Ceci est également inutile: l'Empereur ne reçoit personne depuis que le Commandant actuel a bouleversé tout ce qui avait été établi par son prédécesseur.

F. 1. Dans les grandes chaleurs le seul moment de la promenade est lors du coucher du soleil. Pour n'être pas exposé à rencontrer des sentinelles, on sera obligé de rentrer dans la maison de jour; ainsi on n'aura pu sortir pendant le soleil, parcequ'on est placé dans un lieu sans ombre, sans eau, sans verdure, sans fraicheur; et on ne pourra pas sortir le soir d'après ce nouveau réglement.

2. L'Empereur ne peut prendre aucun exercice à cheval. Il est dans une habitation petite, mal construite, très insuffisante, et extrêmement mal-saine; il manque même d'eau.

3. On ne laisse échapper aucune occasion de lui manquer d'égard. Sa constitution, rapportant pour leur observation aux individus eux-mêmes, on ne parle alors que d'outrages et de menaces. Dans ces divers dilemmes le Gouverneur n'a qu'à suivre le chemin droit de son devoir, en cherchant à le concilier autant que les circonstances difficiles où l'ont placé les procédés tenus envers lui le permettent avec les égards qu'il désirerait toujours témoigner.

E. L'intention de cet article a été expliquée dans la lettre du Gouverneur du 26 Décembre. Il était cependant facile d'en avoir compris le sens.

La conduite du Comte Las Cases en présentait un motif plus que suffisant. Il est parti, et le Gouverneur veut croire que l'article n'est plus si essentiel.

F. 1. Les sentinelles ne sont placées qu'à la brune. Si on désire sortir après le coucher du soleil, il est seulement nécessaire d'en avertir l'officier d'ordonnance, qui fera en sorte que les sentinelles ne l'incommodent point par leur observation.

2. On peut se promener par tout l'intérieur de l'île étant accompagné. Le Gouverneur a très-souvent proposé d'ajouter des chambres; on n'a pas voulu le permettre.

3. On a fait tout ce qu'on a pu faire pour pousser le Gouverneur à manquer d'égards.

1 "Chiefly applying to the Foreign Commissioners, as Bonaparte and his followers (for whom the rule was designed more than for him) were most unlikely to meet any other persons in their rides than British officers and the Commissioners, except blacks, soldiers, and the lower classes of inhabitants."—*Additional Remarks by Sir Hudson Lowe.*

HEADS OF PROPOSED ALTERATIONS, &c.—*continued.*	REMARKS, AS APPROVED BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE—*continued.*	SIR HUDSON LOWE'S OBSERVATIONS IN REPLY—*continued.*
	quoique robuste, est extrêmement affaiblie. Les premiers réglemens ne permettaient aux sentinelles d'approcher de sa maison qu'à 9 heures du soir: on pouvait se promener depuis 5 heures jusqu'au moment du dîner, qui a lieu entre 8 et 9 heures du soir; et même alors, lorsqu'à des journées très chaudes il succédait de belles nuits, on sentait la privation de ne pouvoir prendre l'air après le dîner sur les 10 ou 11 heures.	Le Gouverneur a fait l'impossible pour se contenir, et ne pas se laisser influer par les procédés tenus envers lui. C'est on ne peut plus dénaturer ses intentions que de lui attribuer un système de conduite si contraire à tout ce qu'il a voulu pratiquer. Les sentinelles ne s'approchent pas de la maison jusqu'à 9 heures du soir.
G. All letters for Longwood will be put up by the Governor under a sealed envelope, and the packet sent to the orderly officer to be delivered sealed to any officer in attendance upon General Bonaparte, who will be thus assured the contents will have been made known to no other person than the Governor. In the same manner all letters from persons at Longwood must be delivered to the orderly officer, put up under an outer envelope sealed to the address of the Governor, which will assure that no other person than himself will be acquainted with their contents.	G. 1. Ceci ne regarde pas l'Empereur, qui n'écrit ni ne reçoit pas de lettres; aussi n'a-t-on qu'une explication à demander: fera-t-on un délit aux officiers de ce qu'ils peuvent écrire ainsi dans des lettres intimes avec leurs parents? ou ceux qui liront ces lettres après s'être bien assurés qu'elles ne contiennent rien de contraire à la sûreté de l'état et de la politique, les oublieront-ils de sorte que ces lettres ne seront jamais l'objet de conversations ni de griefs? Dans le cas contraire, il faut considérer la correspondance comme interdite. L'attentat commis sur la personne du Comte Las Cases justifie assez ces observations.	G. 1. On s'était plaint que le contenu d'une lettre de famille avait été rendu public; pour obvier à l'avenir de telles plaintes le Gouverneur a fait ce réglement. On ne peut que l'approuver.
		2. Le Gouverneur n'a pas oublié, en particulier, une lettre du Comte Las Cases, où il n'était parlé de rien moins que des affaires de sa famille, mais qui contenait une relation exagérée et en quelques points très-contraire à la vérité, quant à la situation du Général

Bonaparte dans cette île, mêlée avec des réflexions et des insinuations, tournées de manière à mettre dans le plus faux jour possible la conduite du Gouvernement Anglais et du Gouverneur à son égard.

Ces choses ne sont pas si étrangères à la politique, car le but évident était de donner de très-fausses notions tant sur les instructions que le Gouverneur avait reçues que sur la manière dont il les exécutait, et surtout ce qui se passait dans cette île. Le Gouverneur a cependant laissé passer cette lettre, s'étant contenté seulement d'en parler une fois au Comte Bertrand, en faisant remarquer la différence qu'il y avait entre la correspondance du Comte Las Cases et des autres personnes à Longwood, qui ne parlaient dans leurs lettres particulières que des affaires de leurs familles. Il a cru que cela aurait suffi ; au contraire, le Comte se mit à travailler avec une nouvelle activité au même but, d'une manière indirecte. La conséquence naturelle d'être éloigné de l'île en cas de découverte n'aurait pu qu'être prévue de lui et entrer dans son calcul. Le Gouverneur cependant veut rendre justice. Dans le temps qu'il ne lui venait de Longwood que des reproches et des outrages, le Comte Las Cases reconnaissait les attentions qu'on lui témoignait. Il disait, "A Longwood on ne voit les choses qu'à travers un voile de sang ;" et en réponse à une observation du Gouverneur, "Oui, j'avoue que nous étions tous beaucoup plus faciles à irriter, plus prompts

HEADS OF PROPOSED ALTERATIONS, &c.—*continued.*

H. No letters are to be received or sent, nor written communication of any kind pass or be made known, except in the above manner; nor can any correspondence be permitted within the island, except such communications as it may be indispensable to make to the purveyor, the notes containing which must be delivered open to the orderly officer, who will be charged to forward them. The above alterations will commence from the 10th instant. St. Helena, 9th October, 1816.

REMARKS, AS APPROVED BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE—*continued.*

H. 1. Ceci a pour but, comme le prouvent les inquisitions que l'on a exercées dans toute l'île, que les papiers nouvelles n'instruisent point le monde de la conduite criminelle que l'on tient; on se donne bien du mal pour parvenir à ce but; il serait plus simple de se conduire de manière à n'avoir rien à cacher. On a été plus loin dans une lettre du 1er Juillet adressée au Comte Bertrand; on défend, même avec les habitans, les communications verbales—c'est le délire de la passion et de la haine. Ce réglement est un faible échantillon de toutes les vexations qui journellement forment l'occupation du Commandant actuel; si cela devenait l'objet d'une enquête, il serait trouvé bien coupable, et sa punition serait une satisfaction à l'honneur de la Grande Bretagne, qu'il outrage par sa conduite.

3. En proie à de si absurdes et de si ignobles traitements, depuis bien des mois l'Empereur n'est pas même sorti de sa chambre; les gens de l'art prévoyent qu'il succombera promptement: c'est une manière de l'assassiner plus sûre, mais plus barbare, que le fer ou le poison.

SIR HUDSON LOWE'S OBSERVATIONS IN REPLY —*continued.*

à croire le mal que lui." Ceci vaut mille réflexions du Gouverneur lui-même.

H. 1. Le motif de ce réglement se trouve expliqué dans la lettre du 1 Juillet citée vis-à-vis. Qu'on relise cette lettre pour savoir à quel point elle est écrite dans le délire de la passion et de la haine; avec quels sentimens l'aurait-on lue ou traduite?

2. Conduite criminelle, punition, &c. &c.! Voilà des expressions que le Gouverneur trouve pour la première fois de sa vie lui être adressées; il n'y fera aucune réponse.

3. N'est-ce pas plutôt une manière lente de détruire sa propre santé que de ne pas sortir de sa chambre, et de se refuser à la liberté dont on peut jouir par le seul motif qu'un officier Anglais doit être présent, seulement lorsqu'on sort des limites.

4. *Dans les trois premiers mois de son arrivée* Sir Lowe a eu trois conversations avec l'Empereur : à toutes les trois il lui a essentiellement manqué ; il l'a quitté en colère et proférant des menaces, ce qui a obligé l'Empereur à lui faire déclarer il y a cinq mois qu'il n'était pas au pouvoir des hommes de l'obliger à le voir ou lui parler désormais.

Longwood, 15 Décembre, 1816.

J'approuve le contenu de ces observations.

(Signé) NAPOLÉON.

4. *Le Gouverneur ne fera* aucune réponse, ni entrera en aucune justification de sa conduite dans les trois entrevues dont il est parlé ; il aime à croire qu'en réfléchissant sans aigreur sur son maintien dans la situation difficile où les reproches lancés contre son Gouvernement et contre lui l'ont placé, on rendra justice au calme qu'il a conservé. Deux entrevues ont eu lieu depuis les trois dont il est parlé, ainsi la déclaration qu'on avait ordonné de lui faire n'a pas pu lui avoir été communiqué. Le Gouverneur a dit et répété que l'on pouvait faire publier dans toutes les gazettes d'Europe les plaintes qu'on aurait à faire contre lui. Il a fait cette déclaration en bonne foi : mais il n'a jamais pu imaginer qu'il aurait eu à se défendre contre des accusations si forcées comme sont en général celles contenues dans les présentes observations. Il sera toujours satisfait d'avoir eu l'occasion d'y répondre si par ce moyen il a pu établir de plus justes notions, tant sur ses intentions que sur les faits de sa conduite.

(Signé) H. LOWE, Lieut.-Général.

No. 46.

LETTER OF LAS CASES TO PRINCE LUCIEN BONAPARTE, CONCEALED IN SCOTT'S WAISTCOAT, November 1816.[1]

Monseigneur,

Par la lettre dont votre Altesse m'a honoré, en date du 6 Mars, de Rome, elle désire que je lui donne des nouvelles de la santé de l'Empereur, et que je lui fasse connaître de quelle manière il se trouve établi dans ce pays. Je me ferai un vrai plaisir, Monseigneur, de vous écrire régulièrement à ce sujet de temps en temps. Je vous dirai surtout les choses vraies et telles qu'elles se passent, persuadé que vous n'en rendrez à Madame que ce que pourra supporter le cœur toujours tendre d'une mère. Je prendrai ma relation jusqu'au moment même où je quittai votre Altesse au Palais Royal. Je me rendis à la Malmaison pour obtenir de l'Empereur qu'il daignât me permettre de ne plus le quitter. C'était au moment même où il se décidait à partir pour Rochefort, et où l'on attendait à chaque instant les passeports Anglais, qui avaient été annoncés pour les frégates qui devaient transporter sa Majesté en Amérique. L'Empereur voulut voyager incognito, afin de [ne pas] se désoler aux élans et aux acclamations des peuples. Mais nous qui marchions après lui, qui traversâmes la multitude instruite de son passage, nous pûmes être témoin des regrets et de la profonde tristesse de toute la population. Arrivé à Rochefort, je fus envoyé par l'Empereur, comme ayant le plus d'habitude des Anglais, à bord le vaisseau le Bellérophon, pour demander si on y aurait reçu les passeports qui avaient été annoncé pour le libre passage de deux frégates qui devaient transporter l'Empereur Napoléon en Amérique. Le Capitaine Maitland, qui commandait ce vaisseau, me répondit qu'il n'en avait nulle connaissance, mais qu'il allait expédier sur le champ une corvette à son Amiral, et qu'il pour-

[1] In Corréard's 'Recueil,' vol. ii. pp. 33-74, a letter is printed which professes to be the one given by Las Cases to Scott. It is, however, an imaginary composition. The editor speaks of it thus:—"La voici, soit que ce soit la pièce intégrale elle-même . . . . . soit, ce qui est bien plus probable, qu'elle ait été recomposée plus tard de mémoire."

rait me répondre dans deux jours. J'y retournai trois jours après : il me dit que, contre son attente, sa corvette n'était pas de retour, ce qui tenait sans doute à quelque circonstance de la croisière de son Amiral ; mais que, si l'Empereur voulait se rendre en Angleterre, il, Capitaine Maitland, avait ordre de le recevoir et de l'y conduire. L'Empereur ne voulait plus désormais remplir de rôle politique. Les armées de La Vendée et de Bordeaux, les garnisons voisines, &c., le sollicitaient de venir se mettre à leur tête pour se porter sur la Loire. D'un autre côté de jeunes officiers de marine s'étaient réunis pour former l'équipage de deux chasse-marées, et lui proposaient de le conduire en Amérique, en dépit de la croisière Anglaise. L'Empereur crut devoir écarter ces deux partis ; il ne voulait pas servir d'instrument et de prétexte à une guerre civile sans résultats ; et il ne pensa pas devoir courir le hasard des chasse-marées, puisque le Capitaine Maitland lui faisait une invitation conforme à ses vues : il préféra, donc, d'aller tout simplement à Londres au-devant des passeports pour l'Amérique, ou rester même en Angleterre sous la protection des lois du pays. Tous ceux qui étaient autour de l'Empereur furent unanimes que l'Angleterre serait extrêmement flattée de la préférence que lui donnerait l'Empereur—de la belle page qu'allait ménager à son histoire la noble confiance de celui qui avait été pendant vingt ans son ennemi constant ; je m'appuyai même de votre opinion, Monseigneur, sur la libéralité des lois de cette nation, et le poids de la belle morale sur les sentimens de la multitude. C'est alors que l'Empereur, se décidant, prit le parti d'écrire au Prince Régent la lettre que votre Altesse aura lu dans tous les journaux de l'Europe. Je retournai à bord du Capitaine Maitland pour lui faire part que l'Empereur acceptait son invitation ; j'étais accompagné du Baron Gourgaud, aide-de-camp de sa Majesté, porteur de la lettre pour le Prince Régent, et chargé d'exprimer à ce Prince—1, le désir de l'Empereur de débarquer en Angleterre sous le nom du Colonel Meuron, un de ses aides-de-camp, tué à ses côtés à la bataille d'Arcole ; 2, celui de louer une petite campagne dans un des comtés d'Angleterre les plus favorables à sa santé ; 3, enfin, si cet arrangement ne s'accordait pas avec la politique du Prince Régent, qu'il voulut bien lui donner des passeports pour suivre ses premiers projets et se rendre à New York. Je donnai au Capitaine Maitland une

copie de la lettre de l'Empereur, afin qu'il connût bien les dispositions et les intentions de sa Majesté avant qu'elle se rendît à son bord; il en donna connaissance aux officiers qui se trouvaient présents: elle fut pour tous un sujet de contentement et d'admiration—ce sentiment les honorait. Le Capitaine Maitland expédia le soir même le Baron Gourgaud sur une corvette, et moi je demeurai à bord du Bellérophon. L'Empereur arriva le lendemain; il avait désiré l'incognito. Le Capitaine Maitland abandonna la grande chambre; nous n'eumes qu'à nous louer de ces procédés. Peu de temps après l'arrivée de l'Empereur on signala un nouveau vaisseau; c'était l'Amiral Hotham, qui mouilla près du Bellérophon, et vint l'instant après présenter ses hommages à l'Empereur. L'Empereur l'invita à déjeûner à son bord pour le lendemain, et quelque désir qu'il eût témoigné qu'on ne lui rendit aucun honneur ils lui furent tous prodigués avec une grace, une élégance, des attentions, qui nous semblèrent caractériser particulièrement l'Amiral Hotham. Cet Amiral et tous ses officiers pensaient que leur pays mettrait un grand prix à la noble confiance que l'Empereur lui témoignait en ce moment; ils supposaient bien qu'il pourrait y avoir quelque jalousie à l'égard des passeports demandés pour l'Amérique, mais ils me mettaient nullement en doute qu'une aussi grande nation que la leur ne lui prodiguât tous les procédés d'hospitalité dont nos temps modernes peuvent être susceptibles. Nous fîmes voile pour l'Angleterre, l'imagination de chacun de nous pleine des rêves les plus innocents sur notre situation nouvelle; le calme, le repos, qui d'ordinaire accompagnent la retraite à laquelle l'Empereur se vouait désormais. Nous mouillâmes à Torbay, où l'ordre fut bientôt transmis au vaisseau de se rendre à Plymouth; là l'horison changea subitement—la consternation soudaine du Capitaine Maitland et de ses officiers nous avertit qu'ils s'étaient trompés dans leur attente—tout prit autour de nous un aspect sombre et sinistre. Le Baron Gourgaud n'avait pu obtenir de débarquer—notre vaisseau fut frappé d'interdit—des bateaux armés en faisaient le tour, éloignant les curieux à coup de fusil. Alors nous commençâmes à juger, et nous eûmes à frémir de la redoutable hospitalité Britannique. Un Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat apporta la décision des Ministres, et sans aucune communication préalable il fut décidé que *le Général Bonaparte* serait transféré du Bellérophon dans le Northumber-

land, et déporté au-delà de la Ligne—qu'une très-petite partie seulement de ses officiers et quelqu'uns de ses domestiques auraient la permission de l'accompagner et de partager son exil. On armait le Northumberland en toute hâte à Portsmouth, et nous dûmes mettre à la voile pour aller l'attendre en croisière dans La Manche. C'était, par l'incommodité de la mer, un nouveau supplice pour nous. Au passage sur le Northumberland on nous prit nos armes, nos épées; on nous déclara prisonniers de guerre; on visita nos effets—ceux de l'Empereur, auquel on supposait des trésors, et auquel on ne trouva que quelques malles de vêtements et de toilette, l'argenterie de route, trois ou quatre cents volumes composant sa bibliothèque de voyage, et une cassette de voyage, contenant quatre mille napoléons, qu'on retint.[1]

Notre traversée sur le Northumberland fut de plus de deux mois. L'Empereur ne fut pas malade; il supporta très-bien la mer; il n'eut qu'à se louer des bons sentimens des officiers et de toute l'équipage; sa sérénité passive et son peu de besoin étaient l'objet de l'étonnement et de l'admiration de tous; le mot du vaisseau était qu'il gênait moins qu'un midshipman; ces derniers jeunes gens lui montraient une affection toute particulière; quand il paraissait subitement sur le pont après son dîner, s'il y avait la moindre manœuvre, ils l'entouraient aussitôt pour en écarter les matelots, lui composant ainsi une espèce de garde d'honneur. Les Ministres avaient commandé pour l'Empereur la qualification de *Général*, et même les égards à ce titre; nous nous roidîmes contre cette puérile inconvenance, et le titre d'Empereur redevint plus sacré pour nous: pouvait-on reconnaître au Gouvernement Anglais le droit, selon son caprice, d'imposer une qualification nouvelle, et de déposséder d'un titre auguste, donné par le choix des peuples, et sanctionné par la religion, les victoires, les traités, la reconnaissance de tous les souverains, de l'Angleterre même? A notre arrivée nous restâmes deux jours en rade avant de débarquer; on descendit l'Empereur sur les cinq heures du soir dans une espèce d'auberge ou d'hôtel garni de la petite ville ou village de Ste. Hé-

[1] Le chirurgien du Bellérophon, le Dr. O'Meara, se vouant aux soins de l'Empereur, demanda à le suivre: c'est lui qui depuis est aupres de sa personne en qualité de médecin.

lène. Le lendemain il fut placé dans un petit pavillon ou guinguette dépendante de l'habitation d'un négociant de l'île. C'est là que, dans une seule chambre de quelques pieds en quarré, il lui a fallu pendant deux mois coucher, faire sa toilette, travailler, et manger; il était obligé d'en sortir pour qu'on la balayât et qu'on fît son lit, qui n'était autre d'ailleurs que son lit de campagne. Le peu d'espace permit à moi seul de demeurer auprès de lui. Mon fils et moi nous couchions sur des matelats au-dessus de sa tête dans une petite chambre de domestique. Ses deux valets-de-chambre étaient étendus par terre en travers de sa porte. Le reste de sa maison fut contraint de demeurer à la ville, d'où les officiers ne parvenaient à l'Empereur qu'au travers de formalités rebutantes et de méprises souvent injurieuses. L'île de Ste. Hélène est fort petite, sans agrémens, sans ressources; c'est un véritable rocher au milieu de l'océan, à une distance immense de toute terre; cette île est presque toujours couverte de nuages, ce sont des brouillards et des pluies presque continuelles; l'humidité y est extrême; et s'il y a des éclaircies, c'est alors le soleil du tropique et tous ses inconvéniens. Votre Altesse connaît le tempérament de l'Empereur; il était impossible de lui choisir un lieu plus contraire ni plus funeste; aussi sa santé s'affaiblit visiblement. Au bout de deux mois nous fûmes transportés à Longwood, où l'on avait travaillé tant bien que mal pour nous recevoir; c'est là que nous sommes établis en ce moment. Notre petite colonie s'y trouve réunie à l'exception du Comte et de la Comtesse Bertrand, que le défaut de logement force de demeurer dans une petite cahute à une demi-lieue de nous, en attendant qu'on ait bâti pour eux dans notre voisinage une petite maison, qui depuis n'est point encore terminée en cet instant. L'endroit de l'île où l'on nous a relégué est un plateau isolé sur la côte orientale, constamment battu des vents: c'est la partie inhabitée de l'île—elle a repoussé jusqu'ici la population et la culture—c'est tout dire. Le logement que nous occupons avait été dans l'origine une ferme ou grange bâtie par la Compagnie, qui essayait des défrichemens adjacents; le Sous-Gouverneur après, à l'aide de quelques travaux, en avait fait sa résidence de campagne: c'est là que, à l'aide de quelques additions, faites à la hâte, de pièces et de morceaux, on nous a casernés. Nous y sommes très-mal, dans une humidité continue, à peine à couvert. Pour mon compte,

je n'y suis littéralement pas à l'abri des injures de l'air. Le Gouvernement Anglais pourvoit au service de la table, mais l'île est dénuée de tout, et chaque chose y est cinq ou six fois plus cher qu'à Rome, de sorte que nous sommes sur ce point fort mal, et plus encore par les vices du lieu et de la force des choses que par la volonté des hommes; ajoutez que nos mœurs et nos habitudes sont en toutes choses différents de ceux qui nous entourent. Ne croyez donc pas au palais, aux magnifiques ameublements, au luxe, dont retentissent les gazettes de l'Europe à notre égard; rien de tout cela n'existe que dans la bouche de la renommée; il n'est point de provincial chez nous de dix à douze mille francs de rente qui ne soit littéralement mieux meubli, mieux logé, et mieux nourri que nous ne le sommes. Du reste, ce n'est pas que nous demandions mieux; si je vous en parle, c'est seulement pour vous faire une peinture fidèle. Votre Altesse connaît l'indifférence de l'Empereur pour tous les accessoires; et quant à nous, quelque chose qu'on nous procurât nous ne pourrions voir encore que ce dont on nous prive. Vous ne devez non plus ajouter aucune foi aux mille et une rapsodies que l'on a débitées et que l'on débite chaque jour dans les papiers publics sur la personne de l'Empereur. Soit à bord du vaisseau, soit ici, ceux qui nous entourent, et qui écrivent en Europe, se plaignent amèrement, au retour des papiers, d'y voir leurs lettres entièrement dénaturées, tronquées, et falsifiées. L'Empereur a toujours été et demeure toujours le même—calme, impassible, fort retiré, se livrant peu et travaillant beaucoup. Pour employer ses loisirs et passer ses longues journées, l'Empereur, dans les premiers jours de son embarquement, a commencé, et continue depuis, à dicter chaque jour quelques heures à chacun de nous sur les divers évènemens de ses vingt dernières années. Le séjour de Ste. Hélène ne sera pas perdu à la postérité; il n'appartenait qu'à celui qui avait accompli ces prodiges de pouvoir dignement les décrire. J'ai eu le bonheur de lui montrer l'Anglais; en un clin d'œil il a pu lire tous les ouvrages de cette langue. D'ordinaire il ne sort de son cabinet, petite pièce de quelques pieds carrés, que sur les quatre heures et demie, quand le temps le permet, pour faire une promenade à pied, ou bien pour parcourir en calèche un espace d'un mille deux cents toises autour de la maison; il entre avant six heures

dans son cabinet, ce qui lui a fait observer plus d'une fois qu'il n'est point de prison si rigoureuse en Europe qui ne permette à ses détenus autant d'air et de diversion qu'il en prend ici; à huit heures il dîne—nous avons l'honneur de dîner avec lui; l'heure, le temps, les circonstances font qu'il n'y admet point d'étranger. Voilà, Monseigneur, notre vie de tous les jours. Nous aurions souhaité voir monter parfois l'Empereur à cheval, mais tout ce que nous obtenons, et fort rarement, est de lui voir faire une espèce de manège dans l'intérieur de notre petite enceinte. Les obstacles moraux dont on a entouré notre plus grande excursion l'ont conduit à se priver d'un exercice si nécessaire à sa santé; car, toute triste et misérable que doit être nécessairement la vie sur cet horrible rocher, elle le devient bien davantage par la gêne, les vexations inutiles, les détails aigus que commandent les instructions du Gouvernement Anglais, ou qu'exécute le mauvais esprit de ses agens. Cet état de choses est tel que l'Empereur, en lisant la fin malheureuse du Roi de Naples, ne put s'empêcher de dire, "Les Calabrais sont plus humains que les Anglais; quand on veut se défaire d'un homme il vaut mieux lui donner du plomb dans la tête que de le faire mourir à petit feu." Il y a près de trois mois qu'un nouveau Gouverneur nous est arrivé, avec des instructions beaucoup plus sévères a-t-il dit; il a tellement rembruni notre horison et empiré notre situation, que l'Empereur a dit souvent depuis que d'être à Ste. Hélène avait cessé d'être la première de nos misères, et que le choix du local n'était plus désormais le plus mauvais procédé du Gouvernement Anglais. Quand un jour l'histoire dira à quel point on a poussé les manques d'égards, les formes inquisitives, les vexations de toute espèce, les piqûres journalières envers une personne comme l'Empereur, la partie généreuse de la nation Britannique s'indignera que le Gouvernement Anglais ait pu ordonner de pareilles choses, et qu'il se soit trouvé des Bretons capables de les exécuter si même ils n'en ont accru la rigueur. On a défendu d'écrire toute lettre ou billet dans l'île sans les soumettre au visa du Gouverneur. Toute communication verbale a été frappée de la menace d'un châtiment rigoureux pour l'intermédiaire qui s'en chargerait. Que penser du raffinement avec lequel on choisit pour nous le papier de nouvelles le plus désa-

gréablement écrit, tandis qu'on nous interdit ceux dans lesquels nous pourrions lire la question sous des expressions et des couleurs moins malveillantes? Les Ministres Anglais peuvent-ils descendre à des détails aussi minutieusement odieux, aussi cruellement personnels? Nous ne saurions le croire, surtout quand dans les débats du Parlement à notre sujet nous voyons un concours unanime et souvent répété pour que la douceur, la nature des formes, adoucisse autant que possible la rigueur de la mesure. Aussi l'Empereur répète-t-il parfois, qu'il n'y a rien d'Anglais dans tout cela, que cela ressemble bien plus à la police des sbires en Sicile. Mais peut-être, Monseigneur, direz-vous, "Vous êtes très-mal, mais c'est que l'île est très mauvaise." Sans doute l'île est détestable; cependant il y a quelques maisons qui sont bien meilleures, quelques sites agréables, des positions plus salubres, quelques jardins où il y a de l'ombre, un espace que nous pourrions parcourir, des habitans que nous pourrions voir; il est vrai que c'est peu de chose, mais on veut évidemment tuer l'Empereur et s'en défaire promptement. Tous les gens sensés, tous ceux qui raisonnent, conviennent que les précautions usitées aujourd'hui sont fausses, ridicules, pénibles pour les militaires qui les effectuent; les postes campés sur les pitons élévés sont le neuf-dixième du temps dans les nuages. Garder les issues des gorges sur les bords de la mer—faire suivre l'issue par des signaux dans l'intérieur de l'île—garder la côte ainsi que cela se pratique déjà par des bateaux et des bricks,—et alors on aurait accompli, avec le plus de succès et de simplicité possible, tout ce que la prudence et la sagesse humaine peuvent employer dans cette circonstance. Vous me demanderez peut-être, Monseigneur, s'il est possible de s'échapper de notre rocher? Les militaires, les marins, disent que c'est presqu'impossible; mais ils conviennent surtout que les mesures rigoureuses, les tracasseries de toute espèce dont on nous comble, n'altèrent en quoi que ce soit les chances existantes. Après avoir répondu que l'évasion est presqu'impossible, il reste à se demander comment l'Empereur peut y songer? d'abord les difficultés insurmontables de l'entreprendre; ensuite, où aller? L'océan ne deviendrait-il pas une seconde prison? Toute l'Europe, l'Afrique, les Indes, la presque totalité de l'Amérique, ne lui sont-ils pas fermés? L'Empereur est et demeure aujour-

d'hui positivement dans la même pensée, la même position, les mêmes désirs qu'à l'île d'Aix. Il y a tenu, voulant aller en Amérique chercher le repos sur les bords du Mississippi ou de l'Ohio, ou prendre asyle en Angleterre sous la protection des lois; et pourquoi les Ministres s'y refuseraient-ils à présent? En rappelant aujourd'hui l'illustre réfugié ils prouveraient au monde que la politique seule, et jamais la haine, la vengeance, n'eurent de part à leur détermination. On comprendrait alors que dans le fort de la crise, et sans avoir le temps de se reconnaître, ils eussent cru expédient et sage d'éloigner tout d'abord du lieu de l'action un personnage aussi influent: on ne leur reprocherait plus de l'avoir sacrifié au mépris de la dignité et de la générosité de leur pays, à des souverains étrangers qui n'avaient aucun droit sur sa personne. Ils rendraient aux lois d'Angleterre toute leur majesté—au peuple Anglais l'élévation et la vérité des maximes libérales—à la bonne foi Britannique tout son éclat; ils consacreraient pour leur pays le glorieux privilège d'être inscrit à son tour l'asyle des rois—enfin les Ministres prouveraient encore par là leur force, leur morale, leur justice; ils serviraient leurs propres intérêts en se donnant le moyen d'effectuer de grandes économies et de prévenir les sentiments qui crient partout et toujours l'injustice et l'oppression; et ne faudra-t-il pas que tôt ou tard ce retour se fasse? L'Empereur nous disait plaisamment il y a peu de jours, "Bientôt nous ne vaudrons plus l'argent que nous coûtons, ni les soins que nous occasionnons. Quant à nous, il n'est point de prison en Angleterre, quelque rigoureuse quelle soit, qui, dans son injustice, ne nous semblerait encore un bienfait: nous respirerions du moins l'atmosphère Européen—nous serions sous un autre ciel—nous ne serions pas soumis aux caprices et à l'arbitraire vexation des subalternes—et si nous devions y périr, nous finirions du moins en terre Européenne." L'Empereur parle souvent de sa famille: il voulait s'instruire de son fils, de l'Impératice, écrire à Madame, en s'adressant directement au Prince Régent; mais on le lui a refusé en exigeant que la lettre au Prince fût ouverte. L'Empereur s'en est abstenu—il n'a écrit à personne—il désire que personne ne lui écrive—il ne peut consentir à recevoir des lettres ouvertes. Pour nous, Monseigneur, qui nous sommes attachés au bonheur d'être auprès de

sa personne, nous sommes si fiers de notre situation que nous en sommes heureux. Nous donnons au monde un exemple désintéressé de reconnaissance, d'amour, et de fidélité—nous nous gravons à jamais dans les cœurs généreux—et il est en Europe des millions qui nous envient, et qui nous disputeraient la gloire de notre situation—en est-il en effet de plus douce et de plus belle? Je souffre de n'avoir point ici ma femme et tous mes enfans. Je n'ai que mon fils aîné auprès de moi, et c'est lui qui a l'honneur d'adresser à votre Altesse ces lignes écrites sous ma dictée, car je perds la vue tout-à-fait; cet endroit paraît particulièrement nuisible à la vue; nous en souffrons tous, plus ou moins.

Agréez, Monseigneur, mon dévouement et mon respect.

1 Août, 1816.

No. 47.

DRAUGHT OF LAS CASES' SECOND LETTER TO PRINCE LUCIEN BONAPARTE.[1]

Monseigneur, 1 Octobre, 1816.

J'avais eu l'honneur de vous écrire ma première lettre il y a long-temps, mais il ne s'est pas présenté d'occasion pour vous l'envoyer. Aujourd'hui je vais ajouter quelques nouveaux détails. Je désire que le tout vous arrive à la fois. Il y a quelque temps que le Gouverneur nous a envoyé officiellement le traité du 2 Août, par lequel les Puissances déclarent l'Empereur leur prisonnier. L'Empereur y a fait une protestation; la force de la vérité et la nature des circonstances la rendent sublime. J'espère qu'elle sera publiée, ou j'y reviendrai avec le temps. Ce qui nous occupe en ce moment est une nouvelle vexation des plus incroyables, sans doute, qui puissent s'imaginer. Le Gouverneur vient de déclarer qu'après avoir fait ses

[1] The following memorandum was written by Sir Hudson Lowe in the margin of the first page of the copy of this letter sent to Earl Bathurst:—

"This letter, it is to be observed, was never sent.' The Governor, when Count Las Cases assented to the copy being taken, assured him it would be considered as a paper '*non-exécuté.*' Count Las Cases on an after occasion wished it to be considered as '*imaginaire.*'—H. L."

comptes il fallait indispensablement pour les dépenses de notre établissement dix-huit ou vingt mille livres sterling; que le Gouvernement n'en donnant que huit mille, l'Empereur devait lui remettre le surplus ou se résoudre à des réductions, qui semblent impossibles au Gouverneur lui-même. Nous sommes si misérablement pourvus, si mal nourris, qu'une si forte dépense semble d'abord difficile à concevoir. Cependant, comme dans ce compte se trouvent compris l'entretien de la maison, celui des ouvriers qu'elle comporte, les appointements des fournisseurs, la table des officiers de garde auprès de nous, &c., que d'ailleurs les transports du bord de la mer sur le haut de notre rocher sont extrêmement difficiles et coûteux, on comprend en effet que la dépense peut s'élever à cette somme. Un œuf coûte ici douze sous; un mauvais poulet étique, qui n'est pas le quart de celui des tables d'Europe, vaut sept ou huit francs; la bouteille de vin douze francs—le tout à l'avenant, c'est-à-dire, cinq ou six fois les prix d'Europe. La somme que l'on dit être indispensable à notre dépense, déduction faite de ce qui est étranger à l'Empereur et à sa santé, ne correspondrait guère, d'après les évaluations ci-dessus, qu'à trente ou trente-six mille francs en Europe pour lui et toute la maison, qui ne laisse pas d'être nombreuse. Vous devinerez, Monseigneur, combien, avec cette chétive somme, nous devons être mal. Celle que le Gouvernement a fixé suffirait littéralement à peine pour la ration du soldat. Pour en justifier la modicité le Gouverneur a dit et répété que son Gouvernement avait pensé que, donnant aux personnes qui ont accompagné l'Empereur la liberté de retourner en Europe, elles en eussent profité, et par là diminué de beaucoup les dépenses de l'établissement. Ainsi l'on a pu croire que des Français qu'avait décidé la reconnaissance qu'attache chaque jour davantage le spectacle des persécutions qui récompensent la gloire se lasseraient de leur situation!—qu'ils abandonneraient l'Empereur Napoléon! Quel calme!! et on ose l'avouer! On a été jusqu'à nous insinuer que si nous persistions à demeurer nous devions nous défrayer nous-mêmes. Vous, Monseigneur, qui connaissez l'Empereur et l'abondance de toute sa vie, qui savez son mépris pour l'argent, vous jugerez de son indignation lorsqu'on lui a donné connaissance des premières communications du Gouverneur à ce sujet. Et depuis ces objets

revenus sur le tapis avec le Gouverneur lui-même, l'Empereur lui a dit avec chaleur, "Tous ces détails me sont trop pénibles —faites m'en grace—ils sont ignobles. Qui vous demande quelque chose? Qui vous prie de me nourrir? Quand vous discontinuerez vos provisions, si j'ai faim, ces braves soldats que voilà" (montrant le camp du 53me) "prendront pitié de moi. J'irai me mettre à la gamelle de leurs grenadiers, et ils ne repousseront pas le premier soldat de l'Europe." Toutefois ce serait le grand désir de l'Empereur, et cela l'a toujours été, de pourvoir lui-même à toutes ses dépenses, et il demande pour qu'on le lui rende possible de laisser les négociants de l'île communiquer à son sujet avec l'Europe, sans les soumettre à l'inquisition dont on nous accable. On sait bien qu'aussitôt que ses besoins seraient connus il aurait des millions s'il voulait les accepter; mais on a refusé sa demande. Ainsi, d'un côté on lui retire les moyens de subsister, de l'autre on l'empêche d'y pourvoir lui-même. Depuis qu'il existe des nations, si barbares qu'elles aient été, on ne croit pas qu'il se vit jamais des procédés aussi odieux. "Ils marchandent notre existence," disait l'Empereur, "et vraiment il semblerait qu'on regarde comme une faveur le peu qu'on nous donne, sans songer qu'eux seuls se soient imposés cette charge. Avons-nous demandé un asyle? —sollicité un secours? Oublie-t-on que la force seule et la violation des lois les plus sacrées nous ont arrachés à notre liberté?—nous en ont privés pour nous jeter sur cet affreux roc?—qu'ils nous rendent à nous-mêmes, et ils se trouveront affranchis de tout soin; ils verront si on leur demande rien." En attendant, le Gouverneur Lowe effectue ses réductions, et de manière à ce que nous avons à peine le nécessaire. Il faut que ce soit bien fort, puisque des gens aussi indifférens que nous puissions nous en appercevoir et nous en plaindre. Nous avons été contraints de renvoyer huit domestiques Anglais, qui nous étaient indispensables pour la ferme, la propreté des appartements, et les travaux de l'écurie. Le vin est fixé à une bouteille par tête, l'Empereur compris; une bouteille pour une mère et ses enfants: telles sont les expressions. Moi, qui, ayant demeuré dix ans en Angleterre, me flatte de n'être point étranger aux mœurs de la nation—vous, Monseigneur, qui y êtes demeuré plusieurs années, pourrez-vous croire, pourrez-vous

comprendre de pareilles mesures? L'argenterie de voyage de l'Empereur, d'environ trente à quarante mille francs, va être sa ressource de quelques mois. J'ai quelque peu d'argent en Angleterre, la ressource étrangère de ma femme et de mes enfants; je l'ai mise à ses pieds en cas qu'il daigne l'accepter. Je vous ai parlé bien librement, Monseigneur; aussi cette lettre vous parviendra-t-elle? j'en doute. On a établi ici la plus sévère inquisition pour dérober à l'Europe la connaissance d'une aussi horrible et aussi inexplicable conduite. Toutefois je doute qu'on en vienne à bout. Bien que l'île soit petite—que nous ne soyons qu'un point dans l'espace—nous sommes encore visités par un trop grand nombre de bons Anglais, trop indignés de ce qu'ils voient, pour ne pas le faire connaître à leurs compatriotes. Du reste, l'Empereur, pour couper court, nous a ordonné une fois pour tout de ne lui parler plus de toutes ces indignités, et demeure calme et impassible au milieu de toutes ces vexations. Je n'oserais même pas dire qu'entièrement il ne sourit à l'ignominie dont se couvrent par là ses ennemis, qui ne peuvent manquer d'exciter, tôt ou tard, l'indignation de tous les cœurs généreux.

No. 48.

LETTER OF LAS CASES TO LADY CLAVERING.

10 Novembre, 1816.

Depuis que j'habite un autre univers voici la première fois que je vous aurai écrit à l'insçu de mes surveillans. Dieu veuille que cela vous parvienne! s'ils l'arrêtent ils y trouveront une preuve de leur vexation et barbarie; celle de me réduire à tant de mystère pour des communications qui ne leur sont d'aucun intérêt, que sont devenues les moments où je ne soupçonnais pas que d'épancher librement son cœur put être un bonheur. Nos maux, nos peines, nos tristesses, surpassent tout ce que l'imagination put créer. C'est à nous une grande force d'âme que de supporter une pareille vie. Les bontés et la familiarité du plus grand homme qui fut jamais, du meilleur, me soutiennent contre tout; mais en parlerai-je jamais à vous—à ceux qui me sont chers? que j'ai besoin de l'espérer! Donnez

de mes nouvelles à ma femme. Je n'entends pas parler de cette chère Clémentine : pourtant elle est le seul charme de mes tristes instants, quelques fois je m'imagine que je lui ai survécu et que je reste pour la pleurer : ce ne peut être pour long-temps. . . . . Puissions-nous du moins nous rencontrer dans un meilleur monde ! Mon fils est toute ma consolation ; elle est grande, parce que son cœur est bon, son âme belle, et qu'il consacre tous ses instants à me rendre la vie plus douce, lorsqu'il aurait besoin lui-même qu'on la lui rendît plus agréable. J'espère qu'il fera le bonheur de sa mère. Je vous délègue et vous prie de lui en être une seconde ; je l'élève à le mériter. Il souffre beaucoup ; il a des palpitations violentes et accompagnées de symptômes très-effrayantes, qui m'inquiètent infiniment et comblent mon malheur. Comment n'ai-je jamais de vos nouvelles ? —comment nos connaissances n'ont-elles pas pénétré jusqu'aux bureaux ou offices qui me les transmettraient ? — comment n'avez-vous pu joindre aucun des chefs ou des officiers qui viennent successivement en mission ici ? Mon but n'étant que d'avoir des nouvelles, mais régulières et souvent, vous n'ayant à me parler que de vous et des miens, comment ne trouveriez-vous pas à pouvoir écrire à quelqu'un ici qui me lirait vos lettres ou me les ferait parvenir ? Je serais sûr du moins qu'elles m'arriveraient, parcequ'elles prendraient la route publique, et non celle des offices, où on retient nos lettres, si même on ne les supprime. Depuis long-temps je ne vous écris plus ; il m'a été intimé d'en discontinuer le ton et le style. Comme il m'eut été impossible de vous mander que j'étais fort bien, ce que l'on désirait peut-être, j'ai préféré m'abstenir toutefois. Je vous écris souvent pour ne pas me priver de mes plus doux moments. Puisse-je un jour vous faire lire tout cela ! Je parle bien souvent aussi de vous ; vous êtes désormais bien connue de celui que j'aime. J'ai demandé chez moi ou à vous des effets de toilette vraiment nécessaires ; celui qui vous remettra ceci pourra y ajouter de vive voix, et vous indiquer des moyens. Je vous le recommande ; il est fidèle, et m'a bien servi. Vous trouverez ici une lettre pour le Prince Lucien à Rome ; faites-moi le plaisir de la lui faire parvenir, mais recopiée, car l'original en sa façon doit demeurer en secret, pour que je puisse peut-être encore y revenir. Pourquoi ne l'emploiriez-vous pas aussi vis-

à-vis de moi? Le Prince sait l'Anglais à merveille, et est des plus aimables. J'imagine qu'il ne vous déplaira pas d'entrer en correspondance et en relation avec lui ou tout autre de la famille. Vous en avez désormais les moyens; cela peut être agréable un jour pour vos enfans, pour vous-même, si jamais vous voyagez. Faites-moi le plaisir de nous informer si Lord Holland aurait reçu un paquet que je lui ai adressé; si je l'ai fait sans le connaître personnellement, il trouvera mon excuse dans nos circonstances et l'estime publique qu'il inspire. Je sais qu'il faut bien compter sur votre amitié, mais je connais votre bon cœur—je sais qu'il s'intéresse aux infortunés, et nous le sommes au-delà de toute expression. Que n'auriez-vous quelqu'un pour m'écrire sous votre dictée? mais il devrait être bien secret, ou toute correspondance se réduirait à une seule lettre. Il pourrait faire insérer des articles dans le 'Times' et le 'Morning Chronicle,' dont la lecture nous apprendrait que ma lettre vous est parvenue. Mon plus cher désir est de savoir de vos nouvelles, et d'être sûr que vous recevez des nôtres. 10 Novembre, 1816. Cinq louis à donner à celui qui remettra ceci.

Numéro 19, Portland Place.

Les dernières nouvelles que nous avons reçu sont des Bas, et un petit bout de lettre qui semblait nous promettre davantage. Nous n'avons plus eu de nouvelles de vous.

No. 49.

MINUTES BY MAJOR GORREQUER OF AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN SIR HUDSON LOWE AND COUNT LAS CASES ON THE 4TH OF DECEMBER, 1816.

Having accompanied the Governor to Count Las Cases' on our return from Longwood, we found him lying down on his bed complaining of indisposition; he arose, however, immediately, and after a short conversation on the subject of his health, the Governor said he had received his letter, but not having yet seen the whole of his papers had not replied to it; that he would however take that opportunity of making some remarks upon certain parts of it where his acts had been either

misconceived or misrepresented; that, when he gave his consent to his addressing him a letter, he did not expect he would make use of that occasion of conveying the reflections it contained upon him. The Count answered he would most willingly enter into any explanation upon its contents, and afford all the facility possible on his part; but proposed that they might retire to the adjoining room and there discuss the matter in private. The Governor replied he would prefer doing it where they then were (young Las Cases and myself being present). The Governor then began reading the first paragraph of the letter he had received from Count Las Cases (above alluded to), in which he represented his arrest as the consequence of a snare laid by his late servant; upon which the Governor observed, that to accuse the servant was making him a party in it, as the servant could not have run the risk of carrying into effect such a design without his knowledge; he was not versed in the practice of the continental police, but conceived that, "*en tendant un piége à quelqu'un*," the agent who was employed in executing it always did it with the privity of his superior; that the English laws would not tolerate such a proceeding—it was against both "*l'esprit et la morale des mœurs Anglaises;*" that, could he have been guilty of such a proceeding as that of employing a servant to entrap his own master and in such a manner, he must have considered himself a "*malhonnête homme;*" but that the discovery of the papers in Scott's possession was made by his own father; a part of them only had been found the first day and the remainder three days after. (The Governor then explained in what manner the discovery had been made and how it had been communicated to him, and informed Count Las Cases the man was still in confinement for it.) He answered, he certainly had considered it as a snare laid for him, that it had all the appearance of it, but he had been very careful in the wording of that paragraph of the letter, and had made use of the words "*selon toutes les apparences;*" that it only implicated the servant, and would not be considered as alluding to the Governor's being privy to such a design; but now that the Governor assured him it was not a plot, he believed it, and was happy to be undeceived. The Governor remarked that, notwithstanding what he said, any person reading that letter

would view it in no other light than as imputing to him a participation in the transaction; and further, that what was merely stated in the first part of the letter as an appearance ("*selon toutes les apparences*") was assumed in a subsequent part of the letter as a fact, and inductions drawn from it. The Governor then commented on another part of the letter, wherein Count Las Cases complained that the Governor had not trusted to his delicacy or discretion; that the communication of his regulations came accompanied with that of the penalties annexed to their violation. He then at great length entered into a recapitulation of the steps he had taken, of the cautions he had given, previous to his framing the Regulations which he had transmitted to Longwood, and which were founded upon the instructions he had received from his Government, and had written no less than three letters anterior to the date of the Regulations in which Count Las Cases was particularly specified as having acted in opposition to the rules then in existence; that he was cautioned on them all, and that he (the Governor) had pointed out the manner and channel of their communications, and had also expressed his readiness to forward all their letters sent in conformity to the existing Regulations, and to give them the greatest expedition and the surest means of conveyance. The Governor then showed copies of these letters to Count Las Cases, and made him read those passages which regarded him; and then observed, that after all this previous counsel, some of which was given in an amicable manner, the remark was unjust —it was an accusation he did not merit. Count Las Cases said he had read these letters and Regulations, but beyond that had not reflected upon their contents; he saw there were rules established and punishments attached to their infractions; that he did not consider himself bound by them, but was aware of the penalties he incurred in violating them; he had infringed them, and did not complain of the punishment he had suffered; that he did not accuse the Governor—in his place he would have done the same.[1] The Governor next noticed another sentence

[1] In Las Cases' printed Journal (Dec. 1816) all that he says of this part of the conversation is, "Sir Hudson Lowe afterwards went on to discuss verbally some passages in my letters, dwelling particularly upon certain expressions which, he represented to me in an amicable manner, could

of the letter, in which Count Las Cases said, "*le piége qui lui avait été tendu lui avait donné cette occasion furtive*" to see his papers; and observed that, however guarded he might have been in the first paragraph, here the "*piége*" was spoken of as having actually been laid. He animadverted upon the word "*furtive*" which was a revolting one, whatever sense might be given to it in an English translation, and he believed was equally so in the French language. Count Las Cases answered, that he considered the expression "*le piége qu'on m'a tendu*" could only be read as having reference to the first paragraph (qualified by the words "*selon toutes les apparences*"); he had used it in that sense, and the Governor had seen with how much facility and "bonne foi" he admitted the error of his inference the moment he had told him that no snare was laid for him. With regard to the word "*furtive*," he first defended it by saying it only meant accidental, but afterwards agreed as to its offensive sense, and immediately erased it, drawing his pen across the word. The Governor then commented on the expression "*qu'il tenait un crêpe funèbre étendu sur leurs têtes*," and observed it was very much owing to themselves. He next adverted to the concluding sentence of his letter, wherein he was made to say, "*qu'ils ne savaient pas les tribulations et les peines qu'il ressentait lui-même*," &c., declaring he had not used those expressions; that he could not be supposed to attach such a sense to the execution of the instructions of his Government, and had been misunderstood; that he had merely said to Count Las Cases he did not seem to be aware of the particular responsibility of his charge. Count Las Cases replied, he had received the impression that such was the meaning of the Governor's words, but might have misconceived them, and he would alter the passage if the Governor thought proper:[1] as for the "*crêpe*

not but be disagreeable to him. He found me not only on this occasion, but on many others of the same nature, always perfectly accommodating. My usual answer was to take the pen immediately and strike out or modify the words which displeased him."

[1] The passage as it now stands in the printed Journal is—"Vous m'avez parlé de vos peines, M. le Gouverneur; nous ne soupçonnons pas, m'avez vous dit, toutes vos tribulations; mais chacun ne connaît, ne sent que son mal. Vous ne soupçonnez pas non plus le crêpe funèbre que vous tenez étendu sur Longwood."

funèbre," he did not mean to say it was he who had spread it, he only said he kept it so. The Governor stated he considered that one of the most objectionable parts of the Journal was the insertion of the letter from Count Montholon, wherein a number of gross misstatements were made in regard to him (although this was but a trifle with respect to the more serious matter it contained), and in which he was accused of retaining letters, and (to show the obstinacy in persevering to misrepresent him) where a compliment was also paid to another for an act for which, if there was any acknowledgment to be made, it was due to him, as the circumstance referred to was entirely the effect of his own suggestion. Count Las Cases said it had never been known at Longwood; that they were in the best disposition in the world to view things as they really were, and would be found ready at all times to express their acknowledgment. The Governor answered, all he wanted was justice and truth. He then showed the Count a copy of a letter he had written to General Montholon, which had never been answered, requesting some explanation on certain parts of the one above mentioned, which referred to the detention of some letters received through him, and of others returned to Europe after arriving here; he would also find in it some animadversions upon himself for displaying much activity in disseminating the contents of Count Montholon's letter. Count Las Cases read it, and said he certainly admitted his activity in giving currency to the contents of Count Montholon's letter; and that, with regard to one of his letters stated to have been detained thirty-five days after its arrival here before he received it, that was true; and he had also been informed that another letter was received to his address which had never been transmitted to him, but did not know to what the other allusion was directed. The Governor replied, he felt he was exposed by his situation to misstatements; that he could have easily repelled all these attacks by immediately producing proof to the contrary, but did not think they merited it; that, however, in the instance of the letter addressed to Count Las Cases which had been so long detained, he would refer him to me, as I knew how it occurred; that the letter had been left at his office, and put into a box with other papers without his being aware of it; it was after-

wards observed accidentally by me and sent to him. This statement I confirmed. Count Las Cases remarked how easily many misconceptions might be removed by a personal explanation, and "un raccommodement" effected; how happy he would be at a "rapprochement" were he even the sacrifice, "le bouc d'émission;" and would most willingly submit to be considered as having acted wrong. The Governor said it was not "un rapprochement" he desired, but truth. As we were about to depart, Count Las Cases said to the Governor he had a request to make in which he felt assured of his acquiescence, which was, that, in case he communicated any part of the letter he (Count Las Cases) had written to him to Longwood, he would make known the whole of its contents; to which the Governor assented. We then left Ross Cottage.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET.

00140794

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 15 June, 2016